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## The Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

### PROGRAMME OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAVIA AND WORLD EVENTS

YUGOSLAVIA — ECONOMIC GUIDE

## FRANCE AT THE CROSSROADS

For days now, the friends of France have been waiting for news from Paris like for bulletins about the condition of a patient in agony. The profound concern of world public opinion for the destiny of a country which, at a momentous historical hour, had ushered in a new epoch and become the nucleus of freedom and the boldness of spirit is not of an emotional character alone: on the political map of the world France is a factor of a particular balance of strength and her present and potential effect upon the development of international relations represents a component that has to be taken into account in all political calculations.

The prelude to the generals' putsch, which came at a moment when the events on the Paris—Algiers line had started to develop at a dizzy rate, is so familiar that it is quite sufficient to fix but its basic aspects in order to grasp the essence of the causes which have unexpectedly brought France on the verge of civil war and the meaning of the consequences which will emerge for France and the world at large following on denunciation of one kind or another.

The weaknesses the Fourth Republic ad inherited from the Third Republic

were squared in the interval between the termination of the war and the generals' putsch. On the political level this has involved party strife and an endless procession of anaemic ministerial cabinets which neglected the real interests of France and dragged the country into unreasonable colonial undertakings in Indochina, in Suez and in North Africa; on the economic level the exhausting military commitments on different geographic points, coupled with the absence of a sound economic policy, had constantly created fresh and more and more difficult financial problems the effects of which can only manifest themselves yet in full measure; on the moral level France was reduced to the rank of an ex-power whose voice failed to command respect not only because it was not heard, but because France became disavowed in the eyes of the world public as the last Moesian of military methods in colonialism and the follower of a policy uninspired by own interests and the needs of world peace exclusively.

If the prelude to the present events can be reduced to these basic characteristics then it sounds somewhat paradoxical that they came practically unexpec-

tedly. Admittedly this is to be ascribed to the fact that few had expected a country which represents the cradle of republican institutions and democratic parliamentarism to become the scene of attempts at imposing a "solution" through rebellion and armed threats against the Republic. The generals' junta certainly cannot be accused of failure to pick an auspicious hour and a convenient ground for its action; for Paris was without a government, and France without an army, when Massi appeared on the scene with the Committee of Public Salvation. The definitive meaning of this was that Algeria (with half a million soldiers) seceded from a legitimate France (left to Parliament and ten-thousand-odd gendarmes). Pflimlin's dramatic advent, with the announcement that France is on the threshold of civil war, had marked the beginning of a duel the epilogue of which will be the result of what was left undone rather of what was actually done. If the question were posed what Pflimlin did or did not do it would be seen that he had conceived of his action for defence of the Republic honestly and patriotically, but not without illusions also, and that he had carried it out without the due energy, which means without results too.

At first, Pflimlin had expected the putschists in Algeria to take sufficient warning from the very majority he had obtained in Parliament being the largest such majority recorded in the post-war period. But this was not enough. Pflimlin sought and obtained the Parliament's approval to introduce a state of emergency in the country. This had dramatized the situation but it changed nothing in the true state of affairs; if it was a case of a measure of pressure, this was sanctioned, yet pressure itself remained absent. Next Pflimlin sought and obtained the Parliament's approval to extend the government's emergency powers in Algeria. If he intended to impress the rebels with this once more and peg General Saland to the side of the government, this again proved a measure devoid of a practical effect. When rebellion broke out on Corsica and the putsch began to approach the shores of France Pflimlin condemned the "coup de main against the legitimate authorities" yet he only obtained the Parliament's approval to deprive the conspirator Pascal Arrigo of his Deputy's immunities. It became quite certain that both Algeria and Corsica had been lost and that it might come to unpleasant incidents even in France herself, so Pflimlin staked everything on a single card: Constitutional reform. At a moment when it was entirely uncertain whether the envisaged amendments of the Constitution might strengthen or definitively jeopardize his position Pflimlin failed to obtain the desired majority and there was nothing left to him but to tender his resignation to René Coty.

This collection of Pflimlin's honest and patriotic efforts and missed possibilities for an efficacious defence of republican institutions bespeaks that which was of the essence in the whole situation: the balance of strength which had crystallized in the French Parliament over the question of for or against the Republic. The right of centre openly declared its solidarity with the putschists (the Puégadists, the bulk of the Independents, Bideau and similar); the National Republican Parties (including the Socialists, the Radical Socialists, the Popular Republicans) reached a higher action unity than ever before, acting as the source of the capacity and incapacity of Premier Pflimlin; the Communists tried to get out of isolation and pave the way to cooperation of the leftist forces by supporting the government even on those issues which were sharply at odds with their earlier attitude. Such a physiognomy of the Parliament in the days of fateful debates had shown the adherents of the Republic to be numerous and that the platform for the cooperation of the centre and the left of centre and, particularly, the leftist parties was no fiction, yet it simultaneously showed that only two ways existed for creating such a majority in Parliament which would be capable of

ensuring to France a strong and stable Republican Government, the ways being: either to amend the election system and the Constitution to such an extent as to change radically the present balance of strength between the parties and reduce the prerogatives of the Parliament in relation to the ministerial cabinet, or to realize a cooperation between Socialists and Communists which would give France a new Popular Front Government. The first way was too long and problematic considering that the days were such as to demand quick and efficacious action above all else. And the second way was not adopted thanks to old misunderstandings and unsquared accounts between the Socialists and Communists. Parliament laid down its arms in the face of its own intolerances and the force of arms which had turned against it.

The apathy of the majority of Frenchmen toward these fateful events for the Republic has caused the pressure of the masses (for now at least) not to be the factor which could decide a duel in which the parties have suffered an obvious defeat. Apparently the descendants of the ardent defenders of the Republic have not conceived of this defeat as their own defeat and the defeat of republican institutions, for the very reason perhaps that they had witnessed all sorts of political farces for years past. At all events, this indifference of the citizens as well has been contributive to the logic of events taking such a turn from the first day as to cause a single personality — General de Gaulle — to become the sole way out for many.

In such a situation the future of France is more uncertain than ever, regardless of who might head a new French Government: the old courses no longer can be followed, and the new ones harbour many surprises and even dangers perhaps. It is known what is indispensable for the

rehabilitation of France within the framework of republican legitimacy, but it is ignored what would be left of France if it came to negation of republican institutions. This is not a question of a solution for France alone, whom the Committee of Public Salvation still keeps in check. Indeed a grave theme is involved causing concern today to statesmen in different parts of the world. In U. S. A. and Great Britain there is anxiety over the repercussions the events in France might have on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and many other aspects of the Western Alliance. In Western Germany consideration is given to the effect the changes in France might have upon the organisms of European integration and, particularly, the bilateral relations. In U. S. S. R. there is a conspicuous reserve toward the development of the situation in France which, this time, is the reflex of state interests rather than solidarity with the views of the Communist Party of France. The attack against Remada and the putschists' aspirations of conquest have caused Tunisia to turn to the Security Council and the Moroccan Government to distribute arms to the people for defence of independence and sovereignty.

For varying reasons, but to the same end, all eyes are on Paris today. The world expects France to find herself in this fever she is experiencing. It is entirely uncertain whether she will manage to do so. In any case, the moral may prove great, but the friends of France do not desire its price to be exorbitant.

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## MATERIALS

### From the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

### THE PROGRAMME of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

#### *Introduction*

THE SEVENTH Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists assigned the task to the Programme Commission to complete work on the definite elaboration of the Programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists in course of May. Acting in accordance with the decision of the Seventh Congress, the Programme Commission has already sent the final text of the Yugoslav League of Communists to the press. The Programme will be published by the "Kultura" news and publishing agency as one of a series of four volumes in which the materials from the Seventh Congress will be issued. The other four volumes will contain the following texts: the reports by comrades Tito, Ranković and Kardelj, the Resolution of the Seventh Congress, the Statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as stenographic notes taken at the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists (this volume will have about 1,200 pages).

In this issue the "Review of International Affairs" is publishing the final text of the first three chapters of the Programme of the Communist League of Yugoslavia which deal with the most important aspect of international relations. During the Congress and in the reports and discussion, matters pertaining to internal Yugoslav problems attracted the greatest attention of all participants; of late however, many attacks on Yugoslavia were based precisely on the "criticism" of these chapters of the Programme. In view of the foregoing and in accordance with the character of this review, the editors of The Review of International Affairs wish to enable their readers to become acquainted with the introductory chapters of the Programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists in which the view of the League of Communists on contemporary international relations are stated.

THE LEAGUE of Yugoslav Communists is adopting a new programme at a time of powerful development of socialist relations and socialist social consciousness in our country, at a time of constant strengthening of socialist forces in the world, and of the ever quicker and stronger development of socialism into a world system.

The Communist Manifesto heralded the creation of a new society; the Paris Commune attempted to establish the first dictatorship of the proletariat; but it was only the great October Socialist Revolution that ushered in the epoch of the transition of society from capitalism to socialism. Developments in the last few decades have shown that we are living in a period of gradual decline of the capitalist system and the birth of a socialist society.

Contemporary society is moving socialism through revolutionary conflict and peaceful processes, through stagnation and crises of society, through a series of transformation which arise from the struggle of contradictions — the old forms which are disappearing and the new forms which are taking their place. This transition is being achieved through the advance of science and technology, the development of the productive forces, the strengthening of the political consciousness and the organizations of the working class and other sections of the working people, the liberation struggle of peoples in colonies and dependent countries, and the influence exerted on capitalist society by the constantly growing socialist forces and the already created socialist states.

The working class, as the chief force in socialist development in the world, has, for more than a century, been active, both consciously and spontaneously, in the whole field of economic and social relations, changing — through various ways and forms of action and influence — the old, and instituting new social relations, creating and developing the practice, experience and ideology of socialism, thus becoming the objective and chief protagonist for the general interest and progress of humanity.

In the last few decades the workers' movement has been the fundamental motive power of the social progress of the Yugoslav peoples, and the Communist Party, i.e., the League of Communists, has acted as its ideological vanguard and organizer.

The peoples of Yugoslavia, the working class and the Communist Party, fighting for national liberation and for socialist objectives, found themselves in advanced positions, and in the centre of the conflict of acute international contradictions, and they had to tackle these contradictions and accelerate social development by revolutionary means — fierce, long and costly struggles. Socialist Yugoslavia was born in and grew out of the People's Liberation war and the Socialist Revolution. And the Communist Party, i.e., the League of Communists, having successfully conducted the People's Liberation War, the Revolution and socialist development, affirmed and asserted itself as the leading socialist force of our country.

The realization of socialist aims in Yugoslavia is a complex and long process. It is conditioned by the characteristics of the country, its economic and cultural potential, by the degree and rate of development of the productive forces and the socialists' consciousness of the people, by the activity of conscious socialist factors, Yugoslavia's international position and the state of international relations. Success in the development of socialist social relations in our country also depends on the development of socialism throughout the world, since our own socialist movement is a part of the world socialist transformation, and the successes made on this path by the socialist forces in the world facilitate our own development; just as the advances made by our own country contribute to the general revolutionary experience of the workers' movement in the development of socialism.

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists has grown out of the earlier programmes of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia; it strives to give theoretical formulations of the essential experiences that the Communist Party, i.e., the League of Communists, gained in the conduct of the revolution, in the building up of the revolutionary State power of the working-class and the working people, in the implementation of socialist social relations, in the changing of the economic basis of society, and in the realization of all other important tasks in the socialist development of Yugoslavia.

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists seeks to formulate theoretically, through Marxist analysis, the general laws of socialist development, and the particular forms of the revolutionary process in Yugoslavia.

The programme of the League of Communists endeavours to give an analysis of contemporary social movements and development, in the world, and it determines the views on and the attitude of the Yugoslav Communists towards the general problems of social, economic and political world relations.

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists expresses principled views on certain essential problems of the present-day international worker's movement and of the development of socialism throughout the world.

The programme of the League of Communists determines the fundamental tasks of the Yugoslav Communists in their social and political activities in the socialist development of society; it formulates ideological conceptions of all the essential internal problems and the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, and gives directions for the further socialist development of this country.

Within the general development of socialist ideas, the programme of the League of Communists is the expression of socialist thought at the present level of Yugoslavia's social development. Our future social practice and scientific thought generally will transcend, correct and perhaps even refute certain particular positions, views and formulations, and so confirm the revolutionary spirit and the creative conception of the programme. This will be done according to the social and scientific practice and scientific thought of contemporary socialist forces in the world.

The entire development of the workers' movement has evolved through conflicts of views, ideas and opinions. In the end the views and theories which were the objective expression of the laws of the movement of social conflicts in a given period have always been victorious. There are certain differences of views on some theoretical and practical questions in the present stage of the struggle for socialism. These differences are the expression of dialectical contradictions of the development of society and of the development of social consciousness, the expression of the creative nature of socialist practice and thought. They reflect all the complexity of the transitional period; the tenacity of old conceptions; the convulsions of a social system which is leaving the historical scene; the difficult conditions under which a new socialist society must come into being and develop. Quietude, unanimity of thought and harmony prevail only in metaphysical conceptions of the world. We, the Yugoslav Communists, present, as we have always done, our views and conceptions frankly and boldly, being convinced that the conflict of ideas and their realization test and confirm the vitality, truthfulness, progressiveness and superiority, and thus also the Marxist scientific value of each conception. We, the Yugoslav Communists, are convinced that the struggle of opinions and the creative competition of social practices of socialist forces strengthen socialism, develop social thought, disentangle and transcend the existing contradictions of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Accordingly, the primary aim of the programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists, regardless of possible errors and incomplete treatment of certain questions, is to create for our working people the widest opportunities for further socialist development, and so provide our socialist activities with a firmer ideological foundation; to encourage ideological work in the League of Communists; to help to eradicate the vestiges of schematic thinking, dogmatism, conservatism and revisionism as well as to elucidate more correctly and to perceive more broadly the current problems of socialist development in our country and of the struggle for socialism as a whole; to contribute, by drawing conclusion from the experience of our own socialist practice and from the experience of other people to a more thorough elaboration of urgent problems concerning the further general advance and development of socialism throughout the world, to the extent to which our practice contributes, even modestly, to the enrichment of the common international socialist experience.

The programme of the League of Communists is the basis of our future activity and struggle. Considering actual practice to be the final proof of the correctness of theoretical postulates and the interpreter of ideological concepts, the Yugoslav Communists will continue to learn from their own experience and from the experience of other socialist movements, without hesitating to correct what practice may show to be untenable and obsolete. It is therefore, in the very spirit of the programme that it should be transcended by new and even greater creativeness, both in the practice and in the theory of the development of socialism.

## CHAPTER I.

# Social, Economic and Political Relations in the Contemporary World

### *Capitalism Before Monopolies*

THE CAPITALIST system in its classical form belongs to the past.

In the period of free competition, capitalism developed the technique of production and the productive forces. At the same time it created conditions and social forces which, in

various ways, exerted growing pressure upon it, rendering more acute its internal contradiction, and necessitating a change in the system as such. The decisive part of these forces was the working class, which became the backbone of conscious socialist action aimed at the liquidation of capitalism.

Developing the productive forces of society extensively, capitalism carried out industrial revolutions in a number of

countries, enormously increased the productivity of labour, developed national markets and created a world market. With the ever greater division of labour in national and even international proportions, capitalism expanded the social character of labour, constantly socializing production, which remained, however, within the limits of private capitalist management and private appropriation of the social product.

The development of capitalism brought about the expropriation and destruction of small producers, the creation of the working class, and the exploitation.

Profit is the motive power of capitalist production. Private capitalist ownership of the means of production, private appropriation, profit as the aim of production, and anarchy in the development of capitalist economy, came into increasingly sharper conflict with the social character of production, with the organization of production, and with the general needs of society. The position of the direct producers, i.e., ever greater significance in production, and with their economic and political endeavours.

The development of capitalism was accompanied by an ever greater amassing of wealth, by an ever greater concentration of capital, economic and political power in the hands of an ever decreasing number of capitalists, while an ever larger army of the exploited proletariat was created, thus leading to the sharpening of the fundamental class contradictions and of the class struggle within capitalist society.

In the period of liberal capitalism industrial development was promoted chiefly in the West European countries and in the United States of America, while the great majority of the other countries were producers of raw materials. The industrially developed countries subjugated the raw material-producing countries, thus creating a basis for their more rapid development and retarding the development of the rest of the world.

It was upon this basis and with these contradictions that the capitalist system developed, a system, whose laws of origin and development and whose inevitability of decay were discovered, scientifically analysed and explained by Marx and Engels.

#### *Monopoly Capitalism*

**M**ONOPOLY capitalism appeared at a higher level of development of the productive forces of capitalism, on the basis of the contradiction of production, the centralization of capital and the dominant position of finance capital.

Monopoly capitalism organized social production on a broader basis, merging the enterprises of the same or of different branches and sections of economy, thus furthering production and its socialization. With the growing concentration and centralization of production, planning within enterprises was transformed into planning within the monopolies and in their interest. At the same time, the inter-connection and interdependence of world economy increased.

The process of the stagnation of capitalist society, of its decay, of its inability to keep step with the possibilities of the further development of the productive forces of society, started in monopoly capitalism. This hastened the process of crises, led to wars in world proportions, to a general crisis of capitalism and to its accelerated disintegration as a system.

Characteristic of monopoly capitalism are the emergence of monopolies in the developed capitalist countries, the linking-up of the monopolies, their domination over the world economy and their decisive influence on world politics and international relations. The dominant role of capitalist monopolies led to imperialism — the last stage of capitalism. A scientific, Marxist analysis of the development of imperialism at the close of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century was made by Lenin.

The great changes introduced by monopolies in the economy and in the social structure of capitalism did not, however, abolish the basic laws and contradictions of capitalist society; these laws and contradiction only acquired new features. Competition began between the monopolies, for monopolies and for the consolidation of their positions, competition within the monopolies themselves and against those who threatened their positions. This competition acquired a particularly acute forms in the international field, through the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials and for spheres of influence. And this furthered widened the gulf between the developed and the underdeveloped countries.

Monopoly capitalism intensified the exploitation of the working class, and of the working people, and increased the pressure on the middle classes of society. At this stage of capitalism, the exploitation of other peoples, especially in colonies, increased and was allied with the most ruthless forms of exploitation and oppression.

Monopoly capitalism further intensified the old, fundamental, contradictions of capitalism and created new ones, and accentuated class and political contradictions in individual countries as well as contradictions in international relations. In order to overcome internal and external difficulties, especially the contradictions between the imperialist countries themselves and the contradictions in their attitude towards the colonial and dependent countries, monopoly capitalism resorted to an ever greater and more direct use of the mechanism of the State, and this increased the tendency of the financial oligarchy to merge with the upper circles of the State machinery.

Monopoly capitalism became a pillar of political reaction; it endeavoured to prevent the development of the workers' movement and large-scale liberation efforts, and sought to suppress the influence of democratic public opinion in society. In countries with particularly sharp internal and external contradictions, the most reactionary forces of monopoly capitalism, in order to safeguard their positions from revolutionary movements, as well as to protect their international positions, created fascism and similar types of dictatorship, linking themselves with the socially and historically most backward forces in the undeveloped countries.

The struggle of monopoly capitalism for the re-division and expansion of their spheres of influence, for supremacy and domination in the world, led to two world wars and to the large-scale destruction of human lives, as well of social, material and cultural wealth.

#### *Changes in Capitalist Society and Strengthening of Anti-Capitalist Forces*

**T**HE ECONOMIC and political contradictions of monopoly capitalism and the imperialist wars intensified the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries, as well as revolutionary and liberation movements in the colonial and dependent areas. This process led to the October Revolution, to the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, in China and in some other countries, to the establishment of a socialist system in yet others, as well as to the liberation and political independence of many colonial and dependent regions.

The new social and economic developments, the political events in the last few decades (the October Revolution, other major upheavals such as the great 1929—1934 economic crisis, the Second World War), the new victories of the socialist forces in a number of countries, and the disintegration of the colonial system — all these led to further important changes in capitalist society which in most cases, strengthened state-capitalist tendencies and were the result of the action of numerous social, economic and political factors.

These changes were influenced by the development of the productive forces, the ever greater social division of labour, and the accentuation of the social character of production, both in the industrial developed capitalist countries and in the world generally. Capitalism, in its hitherto prevailing forms, was no longer in a position to ensure unimpeded large social reproduction. Capitalist production relations no longer corresponded to the immensely expanded productive forces which, owing to the advance of contemporary science and technology, continued to develop at an accelerated pace.

The unequal economic development of different regions of the world under capitalism hampered the further advance of the world economy as a whole, and of the highly industrialized capitalist countries themselves. This inequality could not be overcome in the prevailing capitalist relations between developed and undeveloped countries.

The numerical growth and the increased organizational power of the working class, revolutions, uprisings, large-scale strikes, as well as the conscious and spontaneous struggle and activity of the working class and the working people in general in the political, economic and social fields, together with their growing influence on and participation in social life, also had an inevitable effect on production changes in the capitalist system itself.

The socialist revolution and development in the Soviet Union and in a number of other countries helped considerably to strengthen the socialist forces in the world, both by their influence on the capitalist system and by creating better prospects for working class and the colonial peoples in their struggle against imperialism and for quicker economic and social development on new, socialist foundations.

The Second World War demanded the maximum effort from the national economies, made it necessary to regulate and channel economic development on a national level and to implement broad and thorough methods of war economy — and this also influenced the development of state regulatory tendencies in capitalism.

The new successes and fervour of the working class and other progressive forces, which were the result of the victory over fascism during the Second World War, also brought changes in the capitalist system, and these changes were furthered by the epoch-making progress of science and technology after the war.

The liberation movement of the dependent and colonial peoples led to the creation of a number of new independent States which, in order to accelerate their economic and social development and consolidate their independence, did not follow the classical capitalist course of development, but resorted to State guidance and management of their economy, and to the establishment of State ownership of the basic means of production.

Monopoly capitalism, which developed into a world economic system, further strengthened the unequal relations which already existed in the world division of labour.

In the colonies capitalism undermined the traditional social and economic relations and introduced capitalist relations, endeavoring to bind permanently the economy of these countries with the economy of the colonial powers.

The accelerated development of the national economies of the undeveloped countries, and the powerful development of the state-capitalist forms and relations in the economy, has brought about changes in their economic and social structure, and this has affected the economy of the industrially developed countries, disrupted their relations with the underdeveloped countries, and so increased the role of the State in international economic relations.

Together with the expansion of State management of economic life in individual countries and with the establishment of State ownership, the State has increased its role in determining forms of international economic cooperation, in re-

gulating international trade and international financing, and this is one of the characteristics of contemporary international relations.

For these reasons, State-capitalist tendencies are a significant feature of the developed capitalist countries, and of most of the undeveloped countries as well, though in other forms, and through the carrying out of other tasks.

In order to make the growth of social production possible, to mitigate internal social contradictions, and so to prolong the life of the capitalist system, the leading forces of capitalist society in individual parts of the world are at the same time compelled to modify this system by supporting certain economic functions, weakening thus its private capitalist foundations and making it less resistent to the ceaseless struggle conducted in various forms by the workers' movement and the progressive forces of mankind.

Thus the untenable position of the capitalist system from the economic, social and ideological-political point of view becomes even more evident.

#### *Growing Role of the State in the Operation and Development of the Economy of Society*

THE NECESSITY to change and establish, through State intervention, the relations in production and distribution in capitalism is leading to the strengthening of the role of the State in the operation and development of the economic life of society. This tendency towards State intervention in the economic activities of society is growing. The State is compelled to undertake individual measures of control over private capital — measures which it is true, do not affect the capitalist system in essence, but which partially restrict the private management of capitalist property.

The State is assuming an important role in the economy by developing various new monetary-credit measures and by using the taxation system to regulate economic life, either directly — by nationalizing whole branches of industry and large-scale State investments — or by restricting the management of private capital and by controlling the distribution of profits, introducing certain elements of economic planning, but mostly by combined application of all these measures.

As a result of the internal development and changes in the capitalist system, of the conscious and spontaneous pressure of the working class in present-day conditions, the role of the State is weakening also in the field of labour and property relations, social rights, services and other social relations.

The tendency of producers to influence — through bodies of the most varied character and differentiated rights — the management of factories and the management of the economy as a whole, although still in an initial stage of development, signifies an expansion of the struggle for the democratic rights of the working people and for the leading role of the working class in social and economic life.

The emergence of regional and wider international economic organization, in which some States are directly engaged, represents new form of economic cooperation and integration, as distinguished from the earlier exclusive activities of private monopolies in this field; on the other hand, it is also used as a new instrument in the struggle for the establishment of economic and political hegemony of the stronger and more developed over the weaker and less developed countries.

The bourgeois State is thus taking over economic functions at that level of the development of capitalism at which private ownership and private capitalist relations in production becomes too narrow a framework for the expanded productive forces, at which society is no longer capable of finding a way out of the crisis on the basis of the existing capitalist foundations, to further social reproduction, or to develop the productive forces.

These tendencies reveal the efforts of the capitalist forces to adjust themselves, economically and politically, to the requirements of the development of the productive forces, to the social and political changes of the recent — that is, to the growing influence of socialism in the world, to the greater role and power of the working class in national proportions, as well as to retain the essential elements of capitalist social relations and the privileges of the bourgeoisie.

The process of linking the monopolies and the State administration continues. By taking over considerable economic functions, the State and its machinery acquire their own independent economic basis upon which the new social role of the State apparatus is being strengthened. The bourgeois State with its State machinery, in an endeavour to acquire its own independent functions and to place itself over and above society, tends not only to restrict to an ever greater degree the role of the working class, but also to restrict the role of private capital without affecting the foundation of the capitalist system itself.

In these circumstances, the bourgeoisie, particularly its highest circles, is endeavouring to maintain and develop the greatest possible control over the entire mechanism of the State and of state capitalism, to establish itself permanently and firmly as the leading and guiding political force, so as to preserve capitalist relations and the privileges of the bourgeoisie in national and international proportions.

That is why various reactionary quarters of the bourgeoisie, capitalist monopolies and state capitalist bureaucracy are displaying a tendency to use fascist and other anti-democratic methods in suppressing revolutionary and democratic movements.

The expanded role of the State also fosters the economic and political power of the bureaucracy which, gaining in strength, tends to establish itself as a relatively independent social and political factor. The greater the balance attained in the political struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class for influence and positions in the system of state capitalism, the more will the functions of the bureaucracy become independent, and the more will it endeavour to preserve state capitalist monopolies and the social privileges of the bourgeoisie. It is on such tendencies that the nationalist and imperialist ideology of fascism is based — an ideology which endeavours to present the State as a super-class national arbiter in social and economic relations. The greater the influence of the bourgeoisie, the more will bureaucracy serve the bourgeoisie, implementing its reactionary policy.

The leadership of the working class alone can deprive bureaucracy of such an independent social role.

#### CONTEMPORARY IMPERIALIST HEGEMONY

##### Struggle for the Independence and Equality of Peoples

STATE capitalist monopoly gives rise not only to a tendency to maintain the existing relations of national oppression and colonial exploitation, but also to a tendency towards hegemony over other peoples, and towards world hegemony. The endeavour to retain the vestiges of classical colonialism which, through the struggle of peoples for independence, has become untenable and is disintegrating more and more, is not the only manifestation of contemporary hegemony. Imperialist hegemony adjusts itself to formal independence, that is to the formal equality of nations, so as to make them economically and politically dependent on the countries which possess vast economic and political power. In the struggle for this end, political representatives of the bourgeoisie often use — under present conditions — even ideological and political instruments, such as alleged care for democracy, freedom, etc. By abolishing or greatly restricting in this way the genuine independence and equality of nations,

the exponents of imperialist hegemony tend to turn them into their economic and political strongholds in a struggle for expansion of the sphere of their influence and for one or another form of economic exploitation. Thus imperialist hegemony creates a constant danger of a new world war. Under given conditions, this danger will grow all the more acute if the hegemonic role of a particular State, or a group of States, is transformed into a strong international system which acts exclusively from a position of strength, and if the bourgeoisie, based on state capitalism, is capable of moving and organizing other social forces for the implementation of its hegemonic internal and foreign policy.

The struggle for hegemony is not always exclusively in the interest of the bourgeoisie and state capitalist bureaucracy of a given country or a group of countries. Under certain circumstances it may win the support, only of the middle classes, but also of certain sections of the working class.

Both Marx and Lenin spoke about the social consequences which would arise when the bourgeoisie in individual more developed countries succeed in placing certain sections of the working class, or the working class as a whole, in a privileged position in relation to other sections of the working class, or in relation to the working class and the working masses in other countries.

This practice now plays a far greater role in developed capitalist countries than in the past.

The fact is that it is possible for the leading forces of the bourgeoisie to „bribe“ with extra profits certain sections of the working class; and that the higher development of the productive forces and higher productivity enables the developed countries to maintain a higher standard of living than in other parts of the world.

This practice is the direct result of the privileged position held by the ruling forces in the developed countries, in relation to the undeveloped ones. This privileged position was acquired by individual countries, either directly or indirectly thanks to colonial exploitation, non-engagement in wars, definite roles in the international division of labour, or other favourable historical conditions. Privileges of this kind enabled these countries to accumulate superprofits over a number of years and thus make great headway in relation to most of the rest of the world in developing their productive forces, and this has enabled them to maintain — even after the liberation of their colonies — an exceptionally privileged position in their relations with undeveloped countries. Thus even today, when the colonial system is disintegrating more and rapidly, the developed capitalist countries still manage to retain their privileged position, as well as the superprofits which these positions entail.

For all these reasons, the ruling circles of these countries are, both economically and politically, in the position to meet, to a large extent, the material demands of certain sections of the working class, and even to satisfy their democratic demands, thus influencing the shaping of the latter's political consciousness. This accounts not only for the opportunist attitude which certain sections of the working class adopt towards their own bourgeoisie and state-capitalist bureaucracy, but also for their occasional support of the imperialist or hegemonic policy of the higher State circles. The raised living standard of the developed countries is, thus, to a considerable extent the direct product of the poverty and dependence of the backward countries, and oppression, violence and absence of democratic rights in a great part of the world is the precondition for and the basis of bourgeois democracy and political liberalism in a small number of developed countries.

Although it has at its disposal great material power, contemporary imperialism is politically weak and internally unstable. The struggle of peoples for genuine political and economic independence, that is, for genuine equality and

independence in international relations, has not ceased, but is, on the contrary, increasing in scope, and is becoming more successful, while hegemonic pressure for its part acts towards the linking up of this struggle with the most progressive forces of the working class and with socialism. And means that the only path to the final liquidation of imperialism leads through the persistent struggle of the working class and progressive forces in each individual country for their democratic and social demands, and for peace, for the victory and the leading role of working class, for socialism and, through the persistent struggle of the peoples, for their independence.

### *State Capitalism*

**I**N contemporary society there is no pure state capitalism, because social processes are not and cannot be manifested in pure forms at all. Contemporary capitalism contains elements of private capital free competition, together with monopoly capital and the vestiges of smallscale ownership, while the function of the State as a social and political, and particularly as an economic factor's, becoming ever more prominent. As certain economic functions are transferred to an increased extent from private capital to the State — whereby the rights of private capital are limited in other ways as well — so the pressure of new material and social elements in the economy on the capitalist mode of production increases, which makes the establishment of socialist relations even more inescapable.

State capitalism, therefore, is not any specific stage of capitalism; as a tendency it grows out of monopoly capitalism, which has become economically and politically untenable, and which is groping for a way out of its crisis by transferring certain economic functions to the State, while, retaining the essential characteristics of capitalist relations. In this sense the specific forms of state capitalist relations may either be the ultimate effort made by capitalism to survive, or the step towards socialism. Which of these two it will be depends on the strength and conscious political action of the working class, i. e., on the results of its struggle for power.

The working class should guard against the illusion that every support of economic functions in capitalism at the same time means the socialization of these functions along socialist lines. As long as the bourgeoisie is the decisive force of State power, it will use its economic functions to maintain and strengthen its own capitalist privileges and political position. There can be no automatic transition from the system of state capitalism to socialism, to the real socialization of the means of production, that is, to such socialization as places the means of production at the service of all the working people, and of each working man individually. This transition can be achieved only through the conscious political action of the working class, through its struggle to attain a leading role in the machinery of government, and through its readiness and its ability to use this role actually to change social relations.

Although State capitalism relations make it possible to introduce elements of regulation and planning in the economy of the capitalist social system, these elements cannot relieve the system as such of the crisis with which it has been grappling for the last decades. Although State capitalism, unlike liberal capitalism, can, to a certain extent, restrict the free action of market laws so that such a restriction can — even in view of the partial guidance of economic development — alleviate and temporarily postpone periodic crises, these measures cannot "save" capitalism; on the contrary, they show the need for a radical change in the system. In fact, the constantly increasing intervention of the State and its ever greater role in settling important internal and international economic problems confirms the fact that the crisis in the system itself is becoming more and more acute.

In order to ensure further social reproduction and save what can be saved of the economic and social position of capital, State capitalism, adjusting the capitalist system to the new conditions, is compelled to undermine the very foundations upon which it rests. In spite of the endeavours made by the higher circles of the State, that is, the capitalist class, to maintain their position, the objective process of development strengthens and expands the social and economic pre-conditions and factors of socialism, objectively accelerates the process of the disintegration of capitalism, and makes new political victories of the working class, i. e., of the socialist forces, inevitable.

In spite of the great concentration of power in the hands of the State, the system in its essence, both politically and economically, is weak. The fundamental contradictions and antagonisms within the capitalist system remain: its economic and social mechanism more and more frequently proves to be powerless, the system itself is much more vulnerable to the pressure of the working masses than ever before, and economic and social upheavals are inevitably acquiring far greater political and social significance than formerly. Every major economic struggle now turns into a political struggle, and every major political clash has far-reaching social consequences.

In fact, the process of contemporary social development in the capitalist world is moving in two directions. Economic factors, the striving of the ruling circles of capitalism to avoid economic crises and revolutionary political upheavals, and the constant conscious and spontaneous pressure of the working class on social relations in general, compel society to follow the course of transferring more and more social and economic functions and means of production to the State. In this process the bourgeoisie, which is linked with the State capitalist bureaucracy, is endeavouring to maintain as many of its positions and social privileges as possible, mostly through its decisive control over the mechanism of State power. In order to achieve this under the given conditions, the most reactionary forces will, in the future too, tend to resort to fascism and to other forms of brutal political dictatorship. As opposed to this, the working class, consciously and spontaneously, through the most varied methods and forms of economic trade union and political struggle, is exercising incessant pressure for the abolition or restriction of the privileges of the bourgeoisie, fighting to extend and accelerate the socialization of economic functions, to secure decisive influence in the bodies discharging these functions, and to win state power.

The swelling wave of State capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most obvious proof that mankind is inexorably moving into the era of socialism through a wide variety of different roads, into an era in which socialism is increasingly becoming the content and mode of the everyday life of all mankind. The subjective motive power of this process, however, is still the working class, its social and economic interests, its conscious and spontaneous struggle, the different forms of its class activities.

### *Revolutionary, Socialist Transformation of the World*

**T**HE crisis of capitalist society was vitally intensified and accelerated by the October Revolution, which itself was brought about by the general crisis of capitalism. The first victorious revolutionary socialist change in social relations took place in the Soviet Union, and thus the process of the revolutionary socialist transformation of the world began.

The tides of the Great October Revolution have for forty years now been impelling socialist chain reactions in the social relations of all peoples and of the whole world, encouraging and channelling numerous revolutionary and evolutionary processes towards the achievement of socialist objectives. Interlinked with these processes and continuing in them, the Great October Socialist Revolution has truly developed into a world process of socialist development.

After the Second World War socialist relations were introduced in vast areas of the world, and the forces of socialism were strengthened rapidly all over the world. In some countries, as a result of the victory won by the socialist forces in open struggle, in the course of all-out people's revolutions under the leadership of Communist Parties, working class power was established in the specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other countries, the end of the Second World War brought about — in the wake of internal revolts and the advances of the Soviet Army — the overthrow of bourgeois power, the establishment of governments under the leadership of Communist Parties, as well as efforts to build up a socialist society. Thus large number of countries embarked upon the road to socialism. The chief characteristics of the new socialist system are complete socialization of the means of production — namely, the abolition of private capitalist ownership of the means of production, the elimination of the capitalist exploitation of the working class, and the placing of all economic resources and potentialities at the service of the planned development of the productive forces. With respect to distribution, socialism starts from the principle that work should be the only criterion of the economic status of the individual. In socialism, the capitalist craving for profit is replaced by the common effort of society to satisfy the personal and collective needs of the people to the maximum extent.

In the process of the emancipation of society from capitalist social relations, socialist consciousness represents a major objective force and material power, which is capable of exercising a powerful influence on the transformation and guidance of social development, provided it is capable of interpreting the objective material and social-political movements in a creative and progressive way. For this very reason the socialist State, in the first stage, necessarily takes over to a lesser or greater degree the entire organization and planning of production. Thus the State becomes a powerful instrument of conscious action which directs all means and efforts to achieve definite economic aims, establishes planned socialist distribution of the values created, and thus accelerates the advance of society and secures the necessary material and social-economic preconditions for the further promotion of socialist relations. By doing so, it also creates the conditions for its own gradual withering away.

Socialism began solving important and far-reaching economic and social problems — which were all the more difficult and complicated because of the countries which have so far embarked upon the road of socialist construction are comparatively backward, with undeveloped productive forces and with a numerically small working class, all of which have inevitably given their stamp to the forms and methods of socialist construction so far. The expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the new prospects of economic growth released the energies of the working people in a measure that made it possible to accomplish signal results in the construction and expansion of economic strength and, especially, to develop the heavy industry and power-producing resources. Fighting against the anarchy of capitalist commodity production, socialism is in a position to carry out radical changes in social relations in the countryside and to develop modern agricultural production. Socialism has proved to be a social-economic system which is capable of developing the means of production and increase in speed of growth of the national income at the quickest rate. This provides the basis of and leads to profound changes in the social structure of society, which is particularly manifested in the growing participation and role of the workers and the intelligentsia in the forward march of society.

Socialism has definitely ceased to be merely an ideological trend, a political movement, or a social "experiment". Contemporary socialism has become a material force, an eco-

nomic, social and cultural factor which is exercising a decisive influence on social development in the world. By the sheer virtue of its emergence and its existence, it acts, in many different ways and means, by the conscious action of men, on social, economic and political processes in all countries, thus changing the capitalist world and itself as well.

#### *Influence of Socialist Revolutionary Transformation on Economic and Social Movements Throughout the World*

UNDER the influence of the results achieved in the development of socialism, economic and social factors come to expression in the capitalist world and are acting towards further sharpening of the existing contradictions, towards the inevitable socialization of the means of production and, consequently, towards the introduction of socialist relations. At the same time, the subjective forces of socialism are growing stronger, as is also the social influence of the working class. In many countries the working class has already become a social and political factor of such importance that it is capable of exercising, and does in fact exercise a signal influence on social development and on the current policy of the higher circles of the State. And even when it is not in power, the working class — by virtue of its strength and pressure keeps strengthening and developing those social and economic factors which break up the unity of the capitalist system and make the victory of the socialist forces inevitable.

Apart from this, in the underdeveloped countries which have only recently thrown off colonial slavery, there are tendencies to by-pass — and there are possibilities of doing so — specific stages of capitalist development and to build directly the necessary economic foundations for the development of socialism. This course alone can secure the accelerated development of the productive forces in those countries, that is, their emancipation from the fetters of century-old economic and cultural backwardness. In such conditions, even the forms of State capitalism can play — and do play for definite periods — a progressive role. The young working class in these under-developed countries, supporting these efforts and fighting for control of the management of nationalized means of production, as well as for better conditions of life and work, is, at the same time, paving the way for its own decisive influence on State power on the basis of its cooperation with the broadest sections of the working people and progressive movements.

#### *Further Development of Socialist Forces*

THE development of socialism in the contemporary world consist of the combined economic and political influence of the results of socialist construction which have already been accomplished by individual countries, together with various revolutionary and evolutionary processes in the capitalist countries. These processes are developing through revolutionary, parliamentary and other forms of struggle, and through various forms of cooperation and ideological struggle in the socialist and other progressive social movements. The economic and political forces of socialism are expanding, and the degree of the development and stability of socialist relations and the effectiveness of socialist democracy, depend on the strength and subjective efficiency of the conscious socialist forces of individual countries.

The further growth of the productive forces is also influenced by the development of science and technology. New epoch-making discoveries, such as nuclear energy, electronics, automation, discoveries in the sphere of biology, etc., are accelerating the development of the productive forces of society. And the framework of capitalist society has thus become too narrow for these expanded productive forces.

The capitalist mode of production and the capitalist social system are in their final phase. Man, with his economic and social relations, is moving in many different ways into period of transformation, towards socialism. Socialism is increasingly becoming the practice of all peoples because it is becoming a single world process and world system.

This, however, does not mean that capitalism has exhausted all its internal resources and that it can no longer fetter or threaten the leading social role of the socialist forces. The capitalist system is still a powerful world factor. As such, it influences even the internal development of the socialist countries, and particularly the essential social developments in the capitalist countries.

Nothing, however, can now halt the further disintegration of the capitalist social system. And the greater the advance of socialist relations in the countries where the power is in the hands of the socialist forces, the more capable the workers' movement in capitalist countries is of using the broad opportunities and the many different forms of struggle that are available to it, in order to influence the development of society, and the quicker will the process of the disintegration of capitalism be.

In this way the problems of the internal development of socialist countries and of socialist relations generally are becoming the predominant social issue of contemporary mankind. The epoch in which mankind is living today is, more than anything else, the epoch of the introduction and strengthening of the new social, political and cultural forms which are based on socialist economic relations. Socialist thinking is no longer primarily concerned with the overthrow of the old, capitalist system; it is looking ahead: it must solve new tasks in the further development of socialism on the basis of an analysis of the contradictions in which socialism moves forward and of the numerous transitional socialist processes through which socialist relations among people take shape and develop.

Naturally these processes often go through difficult periods of struggle, convulsion, error, groping and temporary setback. Such struggles and such difficulties have accompanied the blazing of every new path in the history of human society. The enemies of socialism hope and rejoice at these difficulties and setbacks, but in vain. Difficulties of this type cannot turn back the wheels of history. They only encourage the most progressive socialist forces to discard all that is out-lived and to find a better, more correct path to further advance. The Yugoslav Communists are proud of being able to contribute their share to this great historical objective of contemporary mankind.

#### *Different Forms of Socialist Development*

CONTEMPORARY socialism is not, and cannot be, pure and homogenous. Vestiges of the old system intermingle, and the laws of commodity production continue to operate in it. Some of the contradiction and antagonism characteristic of the closing stages of capitalism are carried over into the first stages of the construction of socialist society.

Socialist development does not follow a straight line. Men do build socialism consciously, but in various countries they do so under different conditions: they clash with more or less acute internal contradictions, they operate under different influences of spontaneity and of various social and material factors, and, in solving concrete problems, they arrive at different subjective decisions. The aims of socialism are the same, but owing to various objective and subjective reasons, people realize them by different ways and means. In the development of socialism, each people rely upon the experiences of others, but every one of them brings to that common experience their own particular contribution, thus enriching it.

The uneven development of socialism and the wide diversity of its paths and forms produce a number of internal

contradictions in that development, but also provide a powerful incentive to its further advance, to the striving to achieve ever more progressive and freer forms of socialist relations. Any attempt at fettering these laws of socialist development cannot but lead to reactionary results.

In the course of the construction of socialism, the victorious working class — that is, the most progressive socialist forces — encounter the resistance of different social factors upon whose strength and role both the rate of development and the concrete forms of socialist relations depend.

#### *Roots of Internal Contradictions of Socialist Construction*

SOCIALIST relations depend primarily on the material foundations of society. If the economic foundations are backward and undeveloped, the stabilization of the leading role of the working class and socialist forces is more difficult, and the construction of socialism is a long process. The leading forces therefore, turn their attention primarily to the building up of the indispensable economic foundations. Under such circumstances, the socialist forces are often compelled to make compromises with the small-owner elements and even with the bourgeoisie — to rely temporarily on different forms of State capitalist relations and methods. The intermingling of all these relations and mutual influences creates a number of contradictions and antagonisms which cannot be „passed over“ by means of administrative, pseudo-revolutionary measures for the simple reason that their roots lie in the material foundations. At the same time it is precisely through these contradictions that, under given circumstances, society advances most rapidly.

Significant sources of influence on the development of society are the economic and political vestiges and elements of the old society, i. e., the bourgeoisie — that section of intelligentsia which is linked with capitalism, small-owner selfishness, private ownership, among the middle sections of the population, private ownership of the land, etc. The more backward the country, the stronger is the role of these factors, and the more they aggravate internal contradictions and antagonisms. They are also the main source of tendencies toward restoration of capitalism and bourgeois power. These bourgeois tendencies have, in themselves, no great political force, because the working people do not want the re-establishment of the system of exploitation. They may, however, become a real danger if, as a result of objective difficulties or because of the strengthening of the bureaucracy and other negative manifestations, the relations between the leading political forces of the socialist state and the working class should be disturbed.

Another factor of considerable importance which the most progressive socialist forces have to grapple with is the backward social consciousness of the working people, including large sections of the working class, as well as the influence of this negative consciousness on social and political bodies. The revolution cannot change overnight the existing economic foundations, eliminate want and personal material hardships, or change the social consciousness of men, which had been formed under conditions of exploitation and poverty. Backward concepts among the working people, the feeling that their needs have not been satisfied, small-owner selfishness and so forth, often join hands with reactionary, ideological and political trends whose origin lies in the remnants of the old society or in other influences alien to socialism.

#### *Manifestation of Anarchy*

ONE of the manifestations of this backward social consciousness is blind destructive anarchism. If displayed among the working class, it reflects primarily a blind, spontaneous reaction to the objective difficulties and problems of the transition period, i. e., to the continuing discrepancy

between needs and social material possibilities, to an expanding bureaucracy and other distortions and the pressure they exercise on the whole society. Anarchic trends are the consequence of the objective and subjective weaknesses of the factors of socialist progress, and they reveal the spontaneous pressure of the working class on acceleration of the forward movement of society, as well as an undeveloped socialist consciousness. Among certain sections of society, especially among the intellectuals, the middle sections and the petty-bourgeois elements, and also among certain sections of the working class, anarchism often makes its appearance as a reaction to the difficulties of the transition period in general, and is a retreat from the difficulties of the struggle for socialism, a retreat which is cloaked by abstract, pseudo love of freedom. As such, destructive petty-bourgeois anarchism and abstract liberalism is not an independent social and ideological political force, but merely the forerunner of other anti-socialist forces. They pave the way either to the strengthening of bureaucracy or to the forces of bourgeois counter-revolution, which ride on such waves — as well as on the vestiges of small-owner selfishness and other similar manifestations of backward social consciousness of the masses — endeavouring to renew their links with the masses in order to restore at least some of the privileges they have lost.

#### Bureaucratic Tendencies

SOCIALIST development in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is greatly influenced by State bureaucracy, and bureaucracy in general. The victorious working class needs the State for a shorter or longer historical period, not only as an instrument with which to fight the remnants of the old society, but also to establish and consolidate economic relations based on social ownership of the means of production as the predominant social relations. In the period of transition, before society has built up its new economic foundations, before it has established itself firmly upon them, and while still searching for new mechanisms of economic and social management, the socialist State plays a definitely progressive role in managing the economy and in governing society.

Centralized forms of the State management of the means of production, based on various aspects of State ownership and administrative powers of the State machinery have, under certain historical conditions, played a positive role in the development of socialism and, within given framework, are playing such a role today and will continue to do so in the future. This applies in particular to the less developed countries which have entered upon the path of socialism, and in which the specific inter-relation of socialist, state-capitalist and other elements is both indispensable and progressive for a definite period of time. This type of State management of economic life is necessary for socialist countries, until the principal factors of backwardness have been overcome, and until the centralized and decentralized social democratic mechanisms of management of the social means of production, — the mechanisms of the producers, of the working people — have been established.

In carrying out its functions in the economy, the State tends to deprive the economy of its internal motive forces in order to establish and present itself as a social necessity. If these tendencies increase, the State may turn into a factor of stagnation, thus fettering social development, or it may become a factor which prevents the establishment of the new social mechanisms that secure the further advance of socialism.

Our experience, as well as the experience of other socialist countries, has shown that the management of the economy and of the whole of social life by the State machinery exclusively leads, perforce to greater centralization of power, to an even closer merging of the State and Party machi-

nery, to their further strengthening, whereby they tend to become independent and impose themselves as a force over and above society.

The roots of the specific phenomena of the period of transition are: bureaucracy and bureaucratic deformities in the development of socialist relations. These phenomena issue directly from the tendencies engendered in the political and economic machinery of the socialist State which strive to transform the State administration into the master of society, instead of being its servant and executive agent. These phenomena especially manifest themselves where the economic preconditions for socialism are more backward and weaker and where the actual social role and influence of the working class is small.

Bureaucracy and the tendencies of bureaucratic statism, as the last echo of old social relations, tend to distort the development of socialist relations, primarily by maintaining, extending and restoring various forms of State capitalist relations or methods of management in conditions when such relations and methods are no longer tolerated by the productive forces and the workers.

The danger of bureaucracy lies in the fact that, like any other disease, it enfeebles the whole organism of socialist society, and thereby stimulates and fortifies all anti-socialist forces and tendencies. Bureaucracy, above all, inevitably cuts the ties between the leading political forces and the working class, thus sharpening all internal social contradictions.

#### *Development of Socialism and the Overcoming of Internal Contradictions*

THE IDEOLOGICAL expression of these tendencies of bureaucracy are such phenomena as: conservatism, dogmatism, statist-pragmatic revision of the basic scientific premises of socialism, that is, of Marxism and Leninism, and the creation of the „cult of personality“. Ideological tendencies of this type, as the reflection of the objective contradictions of socialist development, appear in various ways in the whole of the international workers' movement.

Consequently, after the consolidation of the power of the working class and working people generally, the question of the gradual withering away of the State is raised, as the fundamental and decisive question of the socialist system of society. In the sphere of economic relations, this process of the withering away of the State simultaneously means overcoming the vestiges of State capitalism. How long this process will last depends on a number of circumstances. In its course the role of the State decreases perceptibly, its bodies undergo transformation, direct democracy keeps on developing, and the functions of various bodies of social self-government increases. The forms under which this process evolves have already been seen to differ and will differ in the future also.

Accordingly, those social forces which are characteristic of the last stages of capitalism continue to act in the socialist society of the period of transition although, of course, under conditions that have altered radically in term of quality, and alongside the tendency towards the transformation, weakening and withering away of all that is connected to the old social relationship.

The working class and its most progressive forces resist consciously and spontaneously the diffusion of tendencies which uphold the interests, conceptions and aspirations of the vestiges of the old order. Under certain conditions, they themselves come under the influence of various alien interests and ideologies, which inevitably creates certain internal contradictions. Such contradictions may, under definite circumstances lead to, and have actually led to, rather serious upheavals, and even to temporary political crises. Contradictions and antagonisms of this type cannot be eliminated overnight, nor can they be waved away. They can only be solved gradually.

through long evolutionary processes and through the struggle of opinion, in line with the development of the material foundations of socialist society and with the formation of the socialist consciousness of men.

The construction of socialism in the transition period, therefore, cannot be reduced to the peaceful, smooth and uniform activity of the leading forces of socialist society; it is an organic social process which develops through its own internal contradictions. In the course of this process socialist society gradually eliminates the vestiges of the exploitation systems and their ideologies, as well as its own transitional and obsolete relations and forms — its own errors and conservatism. In this way man's striving for better and more progressive results — which is inseparably bound up with socialism — comes to expression.

#### *The Leading Role of Socialist Forces and Conscious Direction of Internal Processes*

**T**HE COMMUNIST and leading socialist forces in general, having in their hands the ideological weapons of scientific socialism, and relying on the planned management of the socialized means of production, have many opportunities of directing these processes and of solving contradictions. This does not mean that any of the leading socialist forces can automatically discover and always assess correctly all the forms of social movements, that they are insured against the appearance of spontaneous influences, on the basis of internal social contradictions. These influences often push socia-

list forces either toward bureaucracy and conservative support of obsolete forms of socialist development, or towards petit-bourgeois anarchism and pseudo-liberalism. In such cases, the leading socialist forces lose their actual leading role in certain spheres, thus leaving things to the mercy of spontaneity and reactionary influences, making errors and causing lengthy stagnation and distortions.

Failures and political upheavals are always the first consequences of such errors and distortions. But at the same time they encourage more progressive and more democratic forms and relations in socialist society.

Contradictions and discrepancies of this kind represent an essential characteristic of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and they manifest themselves in all sections of society. In the transition period they can be solved in a socialist society through the process of gradual evolution and constant progress of socialist relations. The difficulties of the objective conditions under which socialist society is developing in a given country, the distortions caused by subjective errors of the leading socialist forces, or obsolete forms of the system can — in individual cases and under certain conditions cause convulsions and serious social and political upheavals. But even such passing crises, when their real causes are grasped, serve as incentives for more powerful and rapid socialist development, for the more powerful and rapid development of socialist social consciousness, for the overcoming of the obsolete, and for the new reproduction of the leading role of the most progressive socialist forces.

## CHAPTER II

# The Struggle for Socialism Under New Conditions

#### *The Socio-Political Role and Influence of the Working Class on the Development of Society*

**T**HE conditions of struggle of the working class of the socialist forces in general for their day-to-day demands, for the democratic rights of the working people, for power for the construction of socialism have altered considerably in the course of the last few decades.

On the one hand the tasks are more difficult. The huge concentration of economic and political power in the bourgeois State and its international ties, with the tendency towards the creation of a national class authority, make the use of certain means and forms of the struggle of the working class more difficult, and often ineffective. This is particularly true of the present state of uneasy peace, which rests upon the unsteady balance of power. In such a situation, every revolutionary action of the working class and anti-imperialist forces acquires an international character and musters the most heterogenous forces in the world.

Apart from this, the practice of the so called economic "bribing" of certain sections of the working class has increased in the most highly developed capitalist countries. This practice has become a source of opportunist and reformist tendencies within the working class; it prevents the unity of the working class, retards its consciousness and class solidarity in the struggle for socialism, advocates parliamentary forms of struggle as the sole correct forms, disregarding other means of struggle which, under given conditions and circumstances, make possible greater success. In these circumstances the ruling quarters are able to consolidate and strengthen the bourgeois-democratic forms of the State and, for a certain period, of social development, to channel the class struggle along the course of compromise with the working

class, along the course of individual reforms and material concessions, at the same time creating the corresponding illusions.

Processes of this kind sharpen the contradictions and the ideological struggle within the working class itself, undermine its unity and weaken its revolutionary forces. The negative consequences this entails are all the more serious if these forces have withdrawn into sectarian isolation, bogged down by dogmatism and sectarianism, if they fail to take into account the objective sources and character of these processes, and if they are incapable of adjusting the forms and methods of their political activities to the concrete conditions of each given stage of the class struggle.

Finally, these difficulties are aggravated by the fact that the construction of socialism — through revolutionary changes — has so far been undertaken principally by the working class of comparatively backward countries. This accounts for many serious difficulties encountered by socialist practice so far which are the result, among other things, of the numerous negative phenomena and distortions in the development of socialism. These phenomena have made it more difficult for the capitalist countries.

All these and similar factors fetter the political action and economic struggle of the working class, blunt its revolutionary zeal and, at the same time, exert to a greater or lesser extent a negative influence on the rate and forms of development of social construction in the socialist countries.

On the other hand, and in spite of all this, the balance of social forces in the world has altered substantially in favour of socialism. The October Revolution, the socialist revolutions in Yugoslavia and China, and in some other countries, as well as the political and social changes in the world, have played a signal role of revolutionary transformation,

not only in the countries in which these changes have taken place, but in the world as a whole. Capitalist encirclement of an isolated socialist island no longer exists, and the capitalist world itself is changing under the influence of the expansion of socialism. The working class of many capitalist countries, especially in Western Europe and America, have won a number of significant political and social rights as a result of its own struggle and the influence of the revolutionary victories of socialism in many other countries. All these social developments, brought about by the victory of numerous socialist revolutions, and the many revolutionary changes which have taken place or are taking place in certain countries, lead to social changes and reforms in other countries as well, interlink with one another and form a single process of the revolutionary, socialist transformation of the world.

In consequence of all this, the social and political role and influence of the working class in the development of society has grown tremendously all over the world. The idea of socialism is winning the support of ever broader sections of the population, and the workers' movement is acquiring more and more opportunities to form political alliances with certain sections of the population, and with other progressive movements.

In such circumstances, capitalism and the political system have become incomparably more unstable than ever, and more vulnerable to the pressure and social influence of the working and democratic masses of the people.

It is obvious that at the present level of development of society the necessary material, social, political and cultural conditions are expanding all the time for even greater successes of the socialist movement. And the wide variety of these conditions creates the possibility of different paths being followed and different forms adopted in the struggle for socialism.

#### *Conditions and Forms of Struggle of the Working Class For Socialism*

THE MIGHTY march of contemporary mankind toward socialism has already led to its becoming the day-to-day practice of hundreds of millions of people, into a practice which becomes richer and richer as new forms and new advances come into existence, either in socialist development itself, or in the struggle of the working class and socialist forces for influence on the movements of society in the capitalist countries.

Owing to this, the struggle of the workers' movement in contemporary conditions is expanding and takes on a great many more different forms than it ever did in the past. It consists of a continuous interlinking of revolutionary and so-called peaceful political actions. The working class, as the leading social force, blazes its path forward through sharp revolutionary and anti-imperialist clashes, as well as through parliamentary and other comparatively peaceful forms of struggle. Whereas in certain circumstances the working class shatters the old system to its foundations through revolutionary action, in other circumstances it is prepared or compelled to make compromises, to accept mutual concessions, to be content with reforms.

Under the present conditions of the activity and struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, its growing awareness of its power and social role of tremendous importance. The pressure of the working class, as well as that of the economic development, has accelerated the process of nationalization to some extent, and has brought into existence various forms of State control of production, though it is, of course, obvious that this only weakens but does not

alter the existing social relations under capitalism. The placing of the demand for more extensive nationalization of industry brings home more clearly the restricted nature and the dwindling perspectives of the present forms of bourgeois democracy. The ever wider discussion regarding the "extension" of bourgeois democracy to the sphere of so-called "economic democracy" testifies to the growth of the process and to the final crisis of the bourgeois-democratic State. Actually, all these fomentations only demonstrate that contemporary development is raising the question of social ownership of the means of production in an ever more acute form, and thereby also the question of power as a whole.

The struggle of the working class for its own participation in the management of the nationalized industries is assuming increasing significance. The successful outcome of the struggle will decide the degree of the so-called economic democracy, the strength of the political and social positions of the working class, the reduction of the role of the bureaucracy and the degree of perception of the essence of contemporary technocratic tendencies. The capitalist class is forced, in this field, too, to make minor concessions, attempting thus to profit by the various forms of workers' participation in the management of the economy which do not restrict the rights of capitalist owners, and to use these concessions to weaken the struggle and pressure of the working class. The working class is becoming more and more aware of its capabilities and of the insufficient scope of the concessions it has won so far.

In the present time, in the course of the immediate struggle of the working masses for the solution of questions involving their day-to-day economic interests and democratic rights, other questions are also raised, such as nationalization and other forms of socialization of the means of production and of economic functions; management of the industries and various modes of self-government; the struggle against bureaucracy, the expansion of democracy, the position of the working people in production and in society, the participation of and control by the workers, the working people and the consumers in economic management bodies, etc.

All these questions are of major importance for the workers' movement as a whole, because they represent forms of the struggle for the stronger social influence of the working class, for its unification, for the promotion of its socialist consciousness, for power.

In under developed countries, a factor of major significance for quicker economic and social progress is the cooperation of the young working class and the broad sections of the population who have been mobilized into the anti-imperialist struggle, as well as the active struggle of the working class against attempts made by bourgeois elements to use the efforts which the liberated peoples are exerting to overcome their backwardness and economic dependence for the consolidation of their economic and political positions. The strivings of the working class are also reflected through its efforts to get a firmer control of key positions, of the management of the nationalized economy, as well as through its fight against returning the nationalized means of production to private owners.

The successes accomplished by the working class in its revolutionary struggle so far, the consolidation of the political and economic factors of socialism, the growing role of state-capitalist relations in contemporary capitalism, the transformation of socialism into a world system and many other factors of present-day social development — all these are creating and will continue to create better opportunities than ever before for the working class to use in certain countries and under given conditions comparatively peaceful means of political struggle in order to become the leading force of

society, to win decisive influence in State power, and gradually — in keeping with objective conditions and its political strength — to ensure the establishment and development of socialism.

#### *Mutual Interdependence of Different Forms of Working Class Struggle*

THE POSSIBILITY of a peaceful transition to socialism, does not in any event mean that the working class should renounce revolutionary means of struggle for the achievement of socialism when the sharpness of internal contradictions and other factors call for such revolutionary means, that is to say, when the policy of the reactionary ruling circles makes them imperative. If the workers' movement were to succumb to opportunist views and practices, it would be renouncing not only its own social role, but also all the victories which the socialist revolutions have so far won and which have, in fact, made it possible for the workers' movement to use more successfully parliamentary and similar methods of struggle in its efforts to win a leading role in society. As a revolutionary class, the working class will, in the future also, undoubtedly use its revolutionary striking power to break the shackles of capitalism, imperialism and all other oppression, especially when and where reactionary ruling circles may, by resort to violence, attempt to arrest the inexorable march of history and bar the road of the working class and progressive forces to power. On the other hand, it is obvious that Marxists cannot allow any one particular form or method of struggle to be transformed into a principle or dogma which would prevent the application of those forms of political action which, at a given place, are in keeping with the concrete conditions of struggle, of life, and of the concepts of the working class and the progressive social forces in general.

The contemporary development of the short but fruitful and very instructive struggle for socialism shows that the roads of the working people to power and to socialism differ, not only in different countries, but also at different periods — in accordance with the general balance of social forces of all countries. The successes of socialism in the world conditions, the historical background and political traditions in each individual country, and also in accordance with the strength of the concrete economic and social position and concepts of the working people in general.

Yet the struggle for socialism in any one country cannot be waged in isolation or divorced from the development of international socialism. The experience gained by the socialist forces in the country becomes the experience of socialist forces of all countries. The successes of socialism in the world in general strengthen the socialist forces in each individual country and make their successes easier.

The basic characteristic of social developments in the world, the basic characteristic of the contemporary struggle for socialism is the inter-relative independence and mutual complementation of all the existing forms of struggle and the efforts of the working class and of the socialist forces further to promote already established socialist relationships and emancipate them from manifestations of bureaucracy.

#### *Some Experiences of Socialist Development in the Soviet Union and Other Socialist Countries*

THE EXISTENCE of socialist countries and, especially, the further advance of social relations in those countries exercises a marked influence on the movement of society, as a whole, in the further development of international relations, towards the equality of peoples and their mutual peaceloving assistance, as well as in the direction of further progress and consolidation of socialism in the world.

With the experience of socialist development gained so far, the theory and practice of socialism have acquired firmer foundations, and further opportunities of channelling the development of society and of curbing anarchy.

In this respect the course of socialist development in the Soviet Union, with its successes and its victories — which are also the successes and victories of international socialism — and with its difficulties and shortcomings, represents a most major difficulties and obstacles.

In the period between the world wars, the Soviet Union was the first and only country in which the socialist forces had come to power and in which socialist relations were being developed. For that reason, the revolutionary working class movement in other countries, and the liberation movements in the colonies, looked to the Soviet Union as to a model for their actions. By virtue of its very existence, the Soviet Union, in the period between two world wars, was the main stronghold of all the socialist and progressive movements in the world. The revolutionary workers' movement of Yugoslavia, too, received powerful inspiration from the October Revolution and from socialist development in the Soviet Union.

The development of socialist relations in the Soviet Union was carried out under extremely complex conditions, involving major difficulties and obstacles.

The productive forces were at a very low level of development and had, in addition, been devastated in the wars. General backwardness was rampant in a considerable part of this vast country. The October Revolution and, later, the Soviet Union as the first socialist country, were the targets of the combined efforts of the reactionary and imperialist circles throughout the world.

It was impossible further to promote socialist relations on the narrow material basis which socialism had inherited from Tzarist Russia. It became a necessity to build up the material foundations of the new society at an accelerated pace, in the first place to build the heavy industries, the indispensable industrial basis. The international position of the Soviet Union and the intrigues and the actions undertaken by the reactionary bourgeois circles against this first country of socialism, rendered the situation even more acute and imposed the generally known course of development.

Under these circumstances social development in the Soviet Union could follow no other course but to put all its efforts into the construction of the material basis required by the new society, and moreover to build it with its own forces. This was the only way to prevent the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. However, the general situation called for all-out efforts and for great sacrifices on the part of the whole of the working class and of all the working people of the Soviet Union.

Through the utmost endeavours, sacrifices and renunciation of the Soviet working people, the Soviet Union accomplished important results in that direction in the period between two wars. A strong industrial basis was created, capable not only of safeguarding the achievements of the socialist revolution, but also of securing the further development of socialist relations. Thereby a firm material and political basis for the development of socialism in other countries was also created. These successes were revealed in the creation of a numerically strong modern working class, intelligentsia etc., all of which radically altered the internal socio-economic structure of Soviet society and the subjective conditions for the further development of the productive forces.

The successes it had accomplished were the basis upon which the Soviet Union, in alliance with the other powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, was able to defeat the bloc of the fascist powers in the course of the Second World War, this being of decisive significance for the further progressive development of contemporary mankind.

In this situation, social development called for the emphasized organizational role of the leading forces of society, for the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, first in the sphere of economic life and then in the whole of the life of society as well. This led to a great concentration of power in the State machinery.

Manifestations of bureaucratic-statist tendencies, however, errors and distortions in the development of the political system of the State, as well as a sharper and more convulsive revelation of many contradictions typical of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, began to accompany this concentration of power in the State machinery.

In the long run, this course of activity resulted not only in the strengthening of the power of the State, but also led more and more to the rule of one man. On this basis, the "cult of personality" was created, along with attempts to justify it theoretically and ideologically.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet working people, in the period of Stalin's leadership, succeeded in preserving the achievements of the October Revolution, in consolidating them by successful industrialization and by raising the general cultural and technical level of the country, and in maintaining and developing the Soviet Union as a support of all the socialist and progressive movements, in face of the persistent pressure of the forces of capitalism and imperialism. Stalin, However, for both objective and subjective reasons, did not fight the bureaucracy-statist tendencies engendered by the great concentration of power in the State machinery, by the merging of the Party and State machinery, and by unilateral centralism. Moreover he himself became their political and ideological protagonist.

It was along these lines that a pragmatic revision of some of the fundamental scientific postulates of Marxism and Leninism was carried out — first in the sphere of the theory of the State and Party, and then also in the sphere of philosophy, political economy and social sciences generally. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a political system of power in the State which is withering away, and as an instrument of working class struggle in the process of the abolition of the economic foundations of capitalism and the creation of political and material conditions for the free development of new socialist relations, was gradually replaced by Stalin's theory of the State which does not wither away and which must strengthen itself in all fields of social life, the State whose machinery is given too great a role in the construction of socialism, in the solving of internal contradictions of a transition period, a role which sooner or later must lead to the fettering of the development of social and economic factors.

Manifestations of this type after the Second World War began to make their appearance in the international sphere as well, i.e., in certain elements of Soviet foreign policy and in relations between socialist countries. This was particularly evident in Stalin's action against socialist Yugoslavia, which the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union unanimously condemned as an action contrary to the real interests of socialism.

While resisting such pressure and fighting for the independence of their country, the Yugoslav Communists and the peoples of Yugoslavia were not only fighting for their right to pursue free socialist development, but were also offering their contribution to the indispensable struggle against statist-bureaucratic and hegemonic distortions in the development of socialism, and in the relations between the peoples who had embarked upon the road of socialism. Their resistance was consistently socialist and progressive and, by virtue of this, it contributed to the strengthening and the progress of socialism in the world in general.

All these and other negative phenomena and errors inflicted harm — in particular as some of them were transferred

to and repeated in certain other socialist countries — both on international socialism and on socialist construction in the Soviet Union. However, they were not able to distort seriously or hamper lastingly the development of socialism in the Soviet Union, because the socialist forces in that first country of socialism had grown and become so strong that they were able to break through the barriers of bureaucracy and of the "cult of personality". It was precisely as a result of this that certain distortions, which had manifested themselves under the influence of the abovementioned negative tendencies, began to be eliminated gradually in the Soviet Union shortly after Stalin's death, and after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The high level of development of the productive forces in the Soviet Union, the prevailing social influence of the working class, and the forming of a numerous intelligentsia closely bound up with the socialist system, enable the further successful development of that process, whereby fresh incentive is given to the advance of socialism.

Contemporary development and the results accomplished so far give the socialist forces the strength to fight, with greater consciousness, and with more persistence and breadth, for the further promotion of socialist relations and for the elimination, frustration or isolation of various sources of distortions of socialist development. The theory and practice which preserve certain of the transitional forms of socialist development while depriving the working class and the whole nation of perspectives, must be criticized, broken and discarded.

The leading political forces of the socialist countries and socialism generally are being more and more immediately faced with the need of solving these problems, which involve the most vital interests of the working people; the forms and methods of management of economic and other social functions; the democratization and gradual restriction of administrative-centralized management; the constant extension of the participation of the direct producers in the management of the means of production and of the economy generally; the steady expansion of the area of social self-government, both horizontally and vertically; the further promotion of the socialist system of distribution in conformity with the socialist principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work"; the steadier improvement of the living standard; the further development of the forms and methods of socialist democracy in all spheres of social life; the strengthening and further promotion of democratic rights and of the democratic social obligations of every citizen, and other similar questions. In settling these and other similar tasks relating to the development of socialist relations, all the socialist countries cannot proceed in the same way and at the same rate. The course they will follow, methods they will use, and the rate they will proceed at, depend on the concrete conditions, on the relations of class forces, the level of economic pre-conditions of socialism, the political structure, traditions and social consciousness of the population of each individual country. But the unity of these problems as such make them the common tasks of international socialism, and particularly of the Communist parties and socialist forces generally which are either in power or which can have a vital influence upon social developments. To resolve the contradiction of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism means, in the first place, to solve these problems, and thus secure the uninterrupted development of all aspects of socialist construction. In following this course, communists may also err, but such errors are not difficult to rectify, for they are errors inherent to every advance. It is incomparably more difficult to rectify errors which issue from obstructions to socialist social development and from conservative clinging to forms that have outlived their day.

## The Development of Socialist Thought. On Dogmatism and Revisionism

THE advance of socialism does not depend only on the determination of the workers' movement to fight in practice for the development of socialist relations, but also on the subjective abilities of the leading political forces. For this reason, constant progress and enrichment of socialist scientific thought are inseparable components of the struggle for socialism and for its construction.

In this struggle the workers' movement, relying on its practice and on the great scientific theories and revelations contained in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has achieved great results, under the influence of various social factors. However, Marxist thought in the course of the last few decades has not kept in step with the advance of contemporary society, and its subsequent development has not always proceeded consistently from the basic scientific postulates and results of Marxism — these very postulates being frequently subjected to a pragmatic revision. As a result of this, many contemporary social problems have not been fully explained from a scientific Marxist point of view, nor have the laws and contradictions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism been sufficiently illuminated, thereby leaving gaps in the interpretation of contemporary social phenomena. The further development of socialism categorically demands proper treatment of the laws and contradictions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, as well as the freeing of scientific socialist thought from the pragmatic pressure of those social factors which retard its progress. Only thus will Marxist thought be able to turn to a scientific explanation of the principal social problems of contemporary mankind, to explain the laws of movement in socialist society in the period of transition, and so pave the way to socialist practice more smoothly than before.

Two social factors and, consequently, two ideological trends in the workers' movement, have primarily acted as a fetter upon socialist theoretical thought, and led to a revision of certain of the basic scientific postulates of Marxism—Leninism.

The first is the phenomenon of bureaucracy and statism. Closely related to this phenomenon is the tendency towards ideological monopoly, as well as the attempt to turn Marxist thought — which can retain its vitality and revolutionary character only by being further developed on the basis of practice and experience — into a static collection of rigid dogmas and abstract truths, adjusted to meet certain temporary needs. Therein lies the source of contemporary dogmatism and of the attempts to carry out specific statist-pragmatic revisions of definite scientific postulates of Marxism—Leninism. And it is this very dogmatism which, while carrying out a profound anti-scientific revision of Marxism and Leninism, proclaims as revisionism any genuine effort towards the real furtherance of Marxist thought in contemporary social conditions.

That the development of Marxist thought had lagged behind the development of events was also due to the fact that Stalin had, within the orbit of the communist movement, authoritatively and incontrovertibly passed judgement on all contemporary social processes for several decades. Some of Stalin's appraisals have proved to be correct, but a number of his theoretical conceptions have been refuted by practice. In his theoretical analysis Stalin made deviations from the materialist dialectical method towards subjectivism and metaphysics. Irrespective of the character of certain of his theories, however, it is clear that such an ideological monopoly had to influence the dogmatization of Marxism and Leninism.

Dogmatism in the communist movement was followed closely by pseudo-revolutionary sectarianism, by loss of faith in the strength of the working class, by under-estimation of or failure

to comprehend, the results of socialist development so far. This situation at the same time made it impossible fully to perceive the influence which socialist revolutions and the results of socialist experience were exercising upon the social development of the capitalist countries and upon the policy of the upper ruling circles, this to a great extent having altered the conditions of the struggle for socialism. Certain communist parties were too slow to grasp these facts, which further impeded the timely discovery of adequate forms of struggle, and weakened the parties' ties with the people.

The second factor which had a negative effect on the development of socialist thought was the influence of bourgeois ideologies, opportunism and reformism, déclassé anarchism and so forth. These influences gave rise to attempts to revise the basic scientific postulates of socialism, that is to say, of Marxism and Leninism, along the lines of bourgeois-liberalism and reformism. Revisionism of this type, in fact, is the ideological expression of the abandonment of socialist positions, and it reveals a propensity to re-establish one or another form of bourgeois society. It attacks the revolutionary ideological foundations of the workers' movement, and, under the cloak of pseudo-liberal phrases, sacrifices the interests of the reactionary social forces.

In the communist movement revisionism of this type thrives on vacillation in the face of difficulties, on disorientation caused by the subjective weaknesses of the movement or by distortions in the construction of socialism. In socialist countries it appears as a reactionary obstruction to socialist development, as a factor of the deformation of the socialist State in the direction of the bourgeois political system, and as a factor of destructive anarchistic undermining of the political basis of socialist society. This kind of revisionism is also one of the sources of bureaucracy, for, by abetting reactionary ideologies and the vestiges of the bourgeoisie, and, transforming itself objectively into a stronghold of anti-socialist forces, it hampers the development of socialist relations, sharpens internal contradictions and fortifies the role both of the State and of state bureaucracy.

If they wish to remain the leading force of the most progressive socialist conscious action, the communists must be capable of fighting both of these negative influences in the development of socialist thought and in socialist construction. Persistent ideological struggle on two fronts against both the one and the other form of revision of the scientific foundations of socialism which Marx, Engels and Lenin laid down, and which the entire experience of socialism so far has confirmed, is one of the essential conditions for the advance of socialism in the period of transition.

But at the same time communists must fight all attempts at exploiting or turning the justified struggle against the two types of revisionism to the advantage of tendencies to thwart efforts to develop further the scientific basis of Marxism and Leninism, to provide a scientific, Marxist explanation of the new phenomena which are characteristic of the contemporary world, and in keeping with which the communists must also determine their practical tasks.

### Situation in the Workers' Movement

FADED with the great tasks and opportunities offered it by the contemporary relations of the social forces, the workers' movement stands disunited. This disunity is, primarily, the consequence of the objective laws of contemporary social developments and of the social position of different sections of the working class. In spite of this, however, the working class needs at least as much unity as exists between the different factions of the bourgeoisie. On the grounds of many years of experience, the bourgeoisie has learnt to find at least those basic elements of cooperation which enable it to achieve unity with respect to the vital questions of its class interests.

— even though the specific interests of certain of its sections may differ widely. The working class is young in many countries, particularly as an influential and, what is even more important, as a ruling social force, and it has as yet not acquired much experience. That is why there still prevails among the leading circles of certain sectors of the workers' movement a serious inability to grasp the social significance of the struggle for one or another approach towards unity in the movement, and among progressive forces generally. Instead of being overcome, the prevailing disunity is often accentuated further. Instead of resisting the pressure of anti-socialist forces through mutual support between the different parts of the workers' movement on the fundamental issues of socialism and peace, the doors of the movement are often thrown open to alien influences and interests, and whole sections of it are in one or another form harnessed to the cart of reaction.

The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that one of the fundamental tasks of the leading socialist forces — if they really wish to contribute their share to the development of socialism — is to fight persistently and uninterruptedly, irrespective of their ideological views, for the creation of such an atmosphere in the workers' movement as would be conducive to various forms of common actions, and to their mutual or one-sided support. This would bar the way to hostile infiltration and secure freer forms of socialist contest of opinions within the workers' movement.

#### Communist and Other Revolutionary Parties of the Working Class

THE Communist and other revolutionary parties of the working class have played an immense role in the development of socialism so far. The Communists, under the leadership of the great figure of Lenin, were the vanguard of the October Revolution and opened a new epoch in the history of mankind. The Communists were the only force capable of leading and channelling the revolutionary energies and aspirations of the vast masses of people in Yugoslavia, China and other countries, and of organizing them for the struggle and victory. The Communists initiated and carried out the revolutionary expropriation of the ruling classes in many countries of people's democracy. They were as a rule the revolutionary nucleus of many anti-imperialist movements and the anti-Hitlerite war. In short, the Communists were the vanguard in the events of the last few decades which have given new substance to the whole history of mankind and turned it into a new direction. Rallying the most revolutionary parts of the working people, educating them in the spirit of class consciousness, helping them to understand and grasp the historical role of the working class, the communist parties, guided by the revolutionary science of Marx, Engels and Lenin, in their day-to-day struggle, were the active leading force of the revolutionary processes which developed after the October Revolution.

This great historical role of the Communists can no longer be denied or belittled by any slanders on the part of the enemies of socialism, or by vilifications on the part of opportunists, philistine and petty-bourgeois phrase-mongers; it cannot be belittled even by their own errors, however great. Had the Communists not played this role, the world would not be what it is today, nor what it will inevitably be tomorrow.

In all these developments the Communists represented and organized vital revolutionary socialist activities, which the broad sections of the working people could grasp, which they had been looking for, and which they were prepared to bear on their own shoulders. That, too, is why they were victorious. In the future, also they will be able to win only under such conditions.

These victories, however, were accompanied by certain negative phenomena in the international communist movement, such as bureaucracy, dogmatism, opportunism cloaked in strength, ideological and political monopoly, etc. As a result of these negative phenomena, certain Communist Parties did not, to a sufficient extent, realize that the conditions of the working class struggle had altered considerably. They failed to see the consequences of the contemporary relations of social forces in the world and were, therefore, not always capable of formulating their tasks in conformity with actual developments. This, together with the influence of the bourgeois forces, led to the sectarian seclusion and even to the isolation of certain Communist Parties, especially in those countries where objective conditions, too, were unfavourable to the development of the revolutionary workers' movement. This isolation, in turn, made certain parts of the communist movement inclined to await passively the results of international development, which brought some of the Communist Parties almost to the danger of ceasing to act as the revolutionary and creative factor and motiv power of social development in their respective countries.

This frequently gives rise to a helpless attitude in face of the opportunistic and reformist mood of part of the working class. In this respect, too, the policy of passive expectation of external events sometimes prevails in the hope that these events will revolutionize the working class. In day-to-day activity, this takes the form of sectarian revolutionary slogans which conceal the inability to lead actions and futile stagnation.

The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that success in the struggle always require that every Marxist party should be capable of organizing or supporting the struggle of the working class for precisely those political and economic requests which the working people can understand and fight for in a given situation. Only through such a struggle can the communists be linked up with the working people and, on the basis of their own experience, capacitate them for further struggles to achieve higher aims. Nevertheless, many of the demands for which the working class is prepared to fight, or for which it is already fighting, are not given sufficient attention or are regarded in a dogmatic light.

The Communist Parties can establish themselves as the most progressive factor and, consequently, as the leading socialist factor, if they regard the socialist process in the entirety — with all the diversities of its protagonists and of its tendencies — and realize that different factors inevitably find expression in different conditions. This will, to a large extent, decide what place they will be able to find for themselves in this overall socialist process, and to what extent they will be capable of acting as the motive force of conscious socialist action. The conception that the Communist Parties have a monopoly over every aspect of the movement of society towards socialism, and that socialism can only find its representatives in them and move forward through them, is theoretically wrong and practically very harmful.

The fact that certain Communist Parties are today in the process of emancipating themselves from dogmas and sectarian isolation, that they are undergoing a process of regeneration on the basis of the recognition of past experiences, and seeking their own path towards socialism, is an expression of the need to keep in step with the time and with current tasks.

#### Social Democratic Party and Movements

A LARGE part of the working class and other sections of the working people, particularly in some highly developed countries, follow the Social democratic and similar parties. For this reason the situation in those parties should be regarded

as a component part of the situation in the present workers' movement as a whole.

In countries where developed productive forces provided a basis for more powerful economic positions of the bourgeoisie, the workers' movement mostly followed the path of reformism, which began to deny, in principle, the necessity of a revolutionary struggle of the working class for power and to foresee the automatic transition from capitalism to socialism by a series of gradual reforms. The main reasons for this should be sought, among other things, in the fact that the bourgeoisie in such countries, in consequence of the revolutionary pressure of the working class, and under the influence of the October Revolution and the whole of the subsequent development of socialism, for familiar reasons was compelled, and in a position, to make certain material and political concessions to the working class. This also explains why the social democratic parties did not develop and could not develop in the economically backward countries.

Under the pressure of the working class on all spheres of social and economic life, bourgeoisie made a series of concessions to the social democratic movement, though at the same time the influence of the bourgeoisie and imperialist circles on a part of the workers' movement increased. And this, in the final analysis, resulted in the mitigation and channelling of working class pressure. While strengthening the social democratic parties, this situation also fostered the inclination of these parties to turn more and more to the middle classes, and induced some sections of these parties to adopt the ideology and psychology of these classes. This accounts for the constant growth of those trends in the social democratic parties which tend to turn these parties away from the conscious systematic struggle for socialism, and transform them into the pragmatic instrument of spontaneous reforms.

In line with this, individual trends among the social democratic movements increasingly denied the right of the working class to an independent policy, and deprive it of the prospects of independent political actions, while at the same time supporting, in theory and practice, bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies. The role of the administrative machinery in the social democratic parties, and specially in the trade unions, has grown tremendously. And this machinery, too, is displaying a tendency to merge gradually with the state-capitalist machinery. This situation creates suitable soil on which bureaucracy can thrive in the social democratic parties, and on which a specific type of reformist dogmatism can take root and grow.

History has already refuted such dogmas. It has, for example, become ludicrous to deny revolutions, when it is generally known that they have changed the world. And the entire conception of political democracy, which is reduced to the maintenance and idealization of the bourgeois multi-party system irrespective of what actual conditions may require, is a static conception which is constantly being refuted by experience. This conception does not take into account the basic laws of the movement of society. Above all, it does not perceive the mutual influence of the material basis of society and the political forms which have been built upon it. In fact, the advocates of these conceptions fail to see or do not wish to see that to graft political forms of bourgeois democracy on the new economic relations which the revolution has brought into being, can — whether they like it or not — only mean paving the way ideologically for the forces of bourgeois restoration and, in the last resort, for bureaucratic statism.

For all these reasons, certain social democratic parties which have come to power by parliamentary means are not in a position to carry out radical and quicker changes in social relations. They restrict themselves chiefly to superficial or very limited reforms, primarily those which the very pres-

sure of economic factors imposes upon the capitalist order. And even the steps they do take are weighed by the influence of bureaucracy and technocracy. In point of fact, within the above-mentioned framework, the same laws which are characteristic of the period of transition and which act on the whole of the workers' movement, act also on the social-democratic parties.

The same factors which determine the reformist dogmatic line of certain sections of social democratic movements in internal policy, also determine their foreign political views. Some of these sections offer active support to actions of the imperialist policy of their bourgeoisie, thus safeguarding superprofits and privileges, at the expense of other peoples and in favour of their own nation, sharpening the contradictions of the contemporary world and increasing the danger of new wars.

Under the influence of the profound changes in the contemporary world — whose real sources and causes many social-democratic theoreticians do not perceive — all forms of dogmatism which arose from the first stages of the development of the workers' movement and socialism are dealt severe blows. Thus the dogmas of social democracy, too, are beginning to break up more and more.

The dynamics of contemporary social processes will inevitably affect the further development of the social democratic parties as well. The social democratic parties which have the following of a large part of the working class will be faced with the alternative of either engaging actively upon the course leading to socialism and to the unity of the working class, or of losing their social influence.

#### Role of Trade Unions

THE working class does not wage its struggle for socialism through political parties alone. By numerous large scale and small strikes, the trade unions have, for a century already, been conducting a partisan war against the power of capital, undermining it continuously. The steady numerical growth and consolidation of the trade unions has transformed them into the biggest organized force of the working class.

The mounting influence of the trade unions throughout a great part of the world represents an important factor, not only in the improvement of the momentary positions of the working class, but also in the struggle for socialism. The workers' movement as a whole takes a keen interest in the development of the trade unions. Among other things this secures greater participation of the broad sections of the working class in social and political development and actions, while it also protects their interests most successfully, although bureaucracy and opportunism among the upper trade union circles often diminish their strength and hamper the initiative of the working class, causing it to refrain from using the objective opportunities for trade union activities.

Characteristic of the present stage of the trade union struggle is the fact that the trade unions no longer limit their requests to demands for higher wages and shorter working hours, but claim with increasing determination the right to participate in the management of production and in the control of certain of the key positions of society.

The role of the trade unions in the organized struggle of the working class for its current economic, social and cultural claims and for its greater social and political influence is greater in countries where, owing to specific internal development, there are no classical political parties of the working class, where economic development has reached a very high level, and where the working class is numerically very strong, as is the case with the United States of America, for instance.

In socialist countries, under conditions of social ownership of the means of production, the trade unions play a

great role; they play an even greater role under conditions of workers' self-management. The fact that in a number of socialist countries the trade unions have lately been assuming an ever greater role shows that the importance of trade unions in the period of transitions from capitalism to socialism is not diminishing, but increasing. With the change in the social role of the working class which is brought about by the elimination of hired labour, with the strengthening of the direct participation of the working class in the distribution of the social product, the role character and tasks of the trade unions also change. The trade unions, however, retain some of their basic functions, such as their economic, protective and educational tasks, and are strengthening them still further.

The international trade union movement is split by the same disunity as the international workers' movement. In this sphere, too, the League of Yugoslav Communists will fight for every possible form of unity in the struggle for the common interests of the international workers' movement, and will also lend its support to cooperation between the Yugoslav trade union movement and other trade union movements, with a view to enabling this cooperation to contribute to the common interest.

In doing so, the League of Yugoslav Communists will bear in mind the fact that the international trade union movement is open to the same negative influences as are manifest in the workers' movement generally. In fighting for the unity of the international trade union movement, the League of Yugoslav Communists will not ignore the ideological and political struggle against the above mentioned tendencies within the movement itself.

#### *Popular and Nationalist Movements in the Underdeveloped Countries*

A NUMBER of parties and movements, mostly those in the economically undeveloped countries, may, for a definite period of time, play a positive role in the development of society and even pave the way to socialist development. In some Asian, African and Latin American countries, a positive role in society's advance towards socialism may, at a given stage, be played by popular and nationalist movements with progressive views, which have come into being in the struggle against imperialism and capitalist monopolies. In this respect a historically progressive role is also played by anti-colonial movements. Workers' movements — provided they are free of dogmatism and opportunism — bear this in mind and moreover lend their support to these parties and movements as pillars of progress, as long as they remain such, and cooperate with them as with equal partners.

#### *Forms of Cooperation Within the Workers' Movements*

THE GREAT number and heterogeneity of the exponents of progressive social movements, as well as that of the reactionary social influences which affect the workers' movement — through its disunity more than through anything else — require that the most progressive and most active socialist forces, primarily the communists, should fight unceasingly and persistently, in the interest of social progress and peace, for every possible form of cooperation, coordination and unification of the struggle waged by the workers', progressive and anti-imperialist movements. These forms of cooperation cannot be laid down or prescribed in advance by any one centre. They will develop on the basis of contemporary development, on the basis of the interests of the working people in the establishment of this cooperation, of the need to safeguard peace and find ways and means of promoting effective active coexistence between peoples and states and, above all, on the basis of the growing awareness that support should be

given to all forms of genuine progress in the direction of socialism, and to all forms and ways of furthering socialist relations and strengthening the socialist forces, which are penetrating the fissures of the old society, widening them, winning social positions, and fighting to attain a leading socialist role.

For this reason the most varied forms of cooperation, adjusted to the needs of the concrete struggle for peace and socialism, will appear in the course of practice, and indeed are already taking shape. They will range from lower forms, such as parallel actions and unilateral support, to definite progressive trends, to unity of action, and even to the merging and unification of the workers' parties.

Bearing in mind these tasks of the international workers' movement, as well as the fact that the vital class interests of the workers are indivisible, although conceptions on the ways to achieve them differ, the League of Yugoslav Communists, regardless of difficulties, will make steadfast efforts for the consolidation and expansion of cooperation within the workers' movement and of international cooperation generally, for better and fuller mutual understanding and knowledge of each other, and for a broader and freer exchange of opinions and experiences. The Yugoslav communists will accept and encourage various forms of cooperation, not only with the communists of other countries, but also with different socialist and other progressive parties, or with communists and socialists together, whenever it considers this cooperation to contribute to the consolidation of peace, to rapprochement between different peoples and progressive movements and to the advance of socialism.

While fighting to the best of its abilities for the unity and cooperation of workers' and progressive movements, however, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers that such cooperation should in no event lead to the abandonment of its principled socialist positions, or to the suppression of ideological and political discussion and mutual criticism. The contemporary world socialist movement finds expression in various forms and trends which cannot be abolished, because they reflect the complexity of existing social conditions. The ideological struggle between these different trends is, in fact, a struggle for the affirmation of the most progressive tendencies under concrete conditions. The communists would be renouncing their revolutionary social role if, in such circumstances, they were to abandon the ideological struggle against antisocialist, opportunistic, sectarian-dogmatic and other negative tendencies in the workers' movement.

#### *Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation*

THE YUGOSLAV communists do not question the forms of cooperation between communist parties, or between communist parties and other socialist and progressive movements, but they question the substance of this cooperation. They are in favour of both bilateral and multilateral cooperation, on condition that it is always based on full equality, that neither side attitude on other, and that there is no interference in the internal relations of the parties involved. Furthermore, this cooperation must be conducive to the interests of peace, of socialism and social progress generally. The League of Yugoslav Communists consider that both bilateral and multilateral forms of cooperation are essential elements in establishing the unity of the activities of the socialist forces and of the progressive efforts of mankind. If the Yugoslav communists under present conditions, however, attribute significance primarily to various forms of bilateral cooperation, this is because of the mentioned objective conditions of contemporary socialist development, and because the earlier forms of multilateral cooperation between the workers' parties produced, beside their positive aspects (when such forms corresponded to a definite historical period), also negative phenomena which inflicted considerable

harm on the struggle for socialism and peace, and which the workers' movement must overcome if it does not wish the democratic principles of socialist internationalism to be sullied once again.

#### *Ideological Monopoly*

MOST notable among these phenomena are tendencies towards ideological monopoly and political hegemony. Tendencies towards ideological monopoly have always been an obstacle to the development of socialist thought, and a source of dogmatism and opportunist-revisionist reaction. And such tendencies gave rise to the striving for an unconditional leading role in the workers' movement, which had many negative consequences at a time when there was not a single working class party in power. Tendencies towards ideological monopoly can inflict even greater damage once working class parties have come to power. The task of the workers' movement — and especially of the communists of the larger, more powerful and more responsible socialist countries — is to fight, both in theory and in practice, for relations of equality. In doing so they should start from the principle that validity and progressive nature of a given ideology, or of given forms of socialist development, depend exclusively on the vital value of that ideology in practice, and not on the approval of one or another international body. Any aspect of ideological monopoly which hampered free socialist development in socialist countries would act as a brake on the development of international socialism generally. For this reason the League of Yugoslav Communists considers that only those forms of international cooperation which unite, on the widest possible basis, efforts to solve common problems of the struggle for peace, of the struggle for socialism and socialist development, are expedient at present.

The interest of further socialist development demands free socialist democratic relations between the parties of the socialist countries. In the struggle for the victory of socialism, the working class of one or another country may, for a certain period of time, be the standard-bearer of that struggle, its vanguard, or possess greater material power; but that does not entitle it to a monopoly position in the workers' movement, least of all to monopoly in the sphere of ideology. Past experience has shown, and is making it even clearer today, that cooperation in the workers' movement is possible only between equals.

Characteristic of contemporary development also is the advent to power of a number of communist parties. As a result of this, the question of relations between communist parties appears in yet another historically new aspect.

The leaders of the communist parties which are in power are not responsible for their work to their membership only, but to the entire nation as well. This fact must find adequate expression in the character of their mutual relations. In their mutual relations communist parties in power cannot pass decisions which belong to the elective body, elected by all the citizens. The communist parties often did not take this into account, whereby the significance and role of these representative bodies was restricted.

To proclaim the path and the form of socialist development in any single country as being the only correct path and form, is nothing but a dogma which obstructs the process of the socialist transformation of the world. The general aims of socialism are common to all, but the rate and forms of progress of society towards these aims are and must be different, in keeping with the concrete conditions of different countries and different parts of the world. The freedom of internal socialist development and the absence of any attempt to impose specific forms on others, non-interference in the internal life and internal development of other movements, as well as free and equal exchange of experiences and socialist

theoretical thought, should be the fundamental principle of the mutual relations between socialist countries and socialist movements.

Attempts at branding recognition of the diversity of forms in socialist processes as a „new“ ideological phenomena, as the birth of „national communism“ has no connection whatever with the scientific explanation of contemporary socialist development. Such theories can only be conceived in the minds of dogmatists, or are deliberately circulated by the representatives of the bourgeoisie with the purpose of creating disorientation and ideological confusion in the workers' movement. Such intentions should not prevent the elaboration of specific trends, nor should they thwart the orientation of the working class towards the problems and conditions of its own country.

#### *On Proletarian Internationalism*

**S**TRESSING that it is indispensable for Communists to fight for socialism and for the construction of socialism in keeping with the conditions of their respective country, the League of Yugoslav Communists fosters idea of proletarian internationalism among its ranks, and educates the working people of Yugoslavia in this spirit. Proletarian internationalism in the whole of its development so far has been always concrete. This principle includes: first, the persistence of the workers' movement to develop a consistent struggle for socialism and for the day-to-day interests of the working people in its own country, the use of all forms of work and struggle in order to increase its influence: the taking over of power and, after assuming power, the undertaking of the development of socialism in accordance with the interests of the working people throughout the world and with the interests of peace and of the general progress of mankind; and second, it includes the support of this same struggle in all other countries, that is to say, solidarity with the workers' movement and the socialist forces of the whole world, in their struggle for the achievement of their every-day economic and political demands, for peace and for socialism.

During the October Revolution and after, when the Soviet Union was the only socialist country, the protection of the Soviet Union as the main stronghold of international socialism was one of the principal measures of proletarian internationalism. Today that criterion is broader. Proletarian internationalism request proper relationships, support of and solidarity with every socialist country and every socialist movement which is genuinely fighting for socialism, for peace, and for active peaceful coexistence between peoples.

The idea of proletarian internationalism imposes an obligation on communists to fight persistently for peace, to condemn every imperialist action and fight against it, to work perseveringly for the all-round mutual knowledge of peoples, for their closer ties and rapprochement, for the abolition of national and racial prejudices, and for all forms of inequality, chauvinism and hegemony which are characteristic of the capitalist system, for the strengthening of the independence and equality of peoples, for mutual peaceloving assistance and comprehensive cooperation between all peoples generally; and as far as we are concerned, for the constant strengthening of the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as for their equality and unimpeded material and cultural development.

In all its relations with other communist, socialist, progressive and anti-imperialist movements, as well as in all its international relations in general, the League of Yugoslav Communists is guided by the great idea of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

# International Political Relations and the Foreign Policy of Socialist Yugoslavia

## Tension and Contradictions in Contemporary International Relations

RADICAL changes took place in international relations after the Second World War, because the balance of political and social forces in the world had altered. The world today is different from what it was yesterday.

The range of imperialist actions has been reduced considerably, while that of the socialist and peaceloving democratic forces continues to expand. The colonial system has fallen apart in many vast areas of the world. Many peoples have won their independence. Entire continents which were, for centuries, under the role of the colonial powers and, until recently, the objects of exploitation, have become active factors in contemporary international relations. Fascism, which constituted the most reactionary force of the contemporary world, has suffered the greatest defeat of all. Mankind, which has experienced the horrors of two world conflagrations is now, more determinedly than ever before, resisting those tendencies and forces which are driving it into new catastrophes.

The struggle of imperialism for hegemony is still a serious threat to the contemporary world. Unequal relations between states and peoples persist, and the uneven economic development of various parts of the world is becoming more marked, — which also engenders political inequality. The old form of the colonial system of world economy is disintegrating, the forms of colonialism are changing, but the division of the world into industrially developed powers and economically backward countries as producers of raw materials still exists. The attempts of several „leading“ countries towards economic expansion, towards increasing their own wealth through economic and political domination and subordination of vast areas of the world, has not weakened.

New forms of „neo-colonialism“ are springing up from the ruins of the old „classical“ colonialism. The economic backwardness, poverty, and difficulties of certain countries, especially of those which have just thrown off the yoke of colonialism and are grappling with the greatest internal difficulties, are exploited in order to introduce them under a new type of economic and political dependence. New forms are being created whereby the countries receiving aid are bound to the countries giving aid. It is this basis that the hegemony of the great powers in the world is kept alive in a new form. The struggle for this type of supremacy is being adjusted to contemporary international conditions, and is often cloaked by slogans about humanism and concern for the backward areas, unselfish assistance etc. The struggle against new forms of colonialism, domination and hegemony is no less imperative than was the struggle against the old, „classical“ colonialism.

The Second World War left many problems unsettled, and their solution is being constantly postponed. The peoples of Germany, Korea, Vietnam are disunited, and living in states with different social systems, divided by artificial frontiers, and they constitute latent danger spots of open conflict. In addition to this, the postwar development brought about other disputable issues which become more acute whenever attempts are made to solve them from a positions of strength, and not in harmony with the wishes of the peoples concerned, for freedom and independence, for more stable peace in the world.

The adverse consequences of the policy of strength made themselves felt immediately after the Second World War, and they have continued to multiply to the present day. This policy increases mistrust, encourages various war-mongering elements,

accelerates armament, leads to the formation of various military alliances, to the construction of military bases, to the stationing of troops in foreign countries, to increases in military budgets, and to the imposing of the burden of military and other non-productive expenditures on the working people. The responsibility for this, today and in the future, will rest, not only with individual political circles or individual makers of such policy, but also, and even more so, with the present day statesmen who, in spite of the demands of the great majority of humanity who aspire towards the equal cooperation and friendship of all peoples and the general progress of humanity in peace and security, have advanced far along this dangerous road and are still advancing.

One of the consequences of these contradictions is the formation of military political pacts, that is, blocs, and the renewed armament race which, in turn, widens the economic division of the world. Normal and essential economic relations are not being established, individual areas are autarchically isolating themselves, and attempts are being made to subordinate economic development to temporary political considerations. Owing to this, the free exchange of goods is being greatly restricted and the development of the productive forces in various parts of the world is being seriously retarded, and, consequently, world economic development. This economic division of the world renders even more acute political contradictions in international relations.

The tendency to divide the whole world into blocs retards the realization of the idea of coexistence, and is opposed to the complete independence and sovereignty of peoples and nations.

Furthermore, the bloc division of the world retards broadest cultural and other cooperation between peoples, and this increases mistrust and intolerance.

As long as the policy of strength continues to dominate international relations it will give rise to bloc formations, as a reflection of tendencies towards aggression, or of defence against such tendencies. Thus mechanism is created which impedes the free and independent development of individual countries. The existence of blocs creates conditions which make it possible for the reactionary forces to suppress progress in individual countries, under the pretext of defence against foreign danger.

In view of all this, one cannot regard the international situation as stable. Its instability is best revealed by the alternating tension and relaxation of tension that has been discernible in international relations ever since the end of the war.

## The Historical Meaning of the Struggle for National Independence

THE struggle for the consolidation of national equality is today a significant factor of the struggle for peace and social progress. This struggle is not in contradiction with the development of the widest international cooperation, but is, in fact, a starting point for close rapprochement between peoples, for further democratic development, for the process of unification of the world in an economic, political and cultural respect. Successful cooperation and the highest degree of understanding can be achieved only between independent and equal peoples.

It is true that the Yugoslav communists are aware that there can be no absolute independence today, when mankind

is striving towards ever greater unification and ever closer cooperation between peoples. On the contrary, the trend towards the integration of the world and closer cooperation between peoples leads to their growing interdependence. This interdependence will materialize increasingly as a result of their common interests, and not as a result of any one people or class imposing their will and interests upon others. For this reason, the Yugoslav communists understand political and economic independence to mean such a position of peoples or states and such relations between peoples as will make it possible for them to accept voluntarily and on the basis of equality, those international obligations which correspond to their own interest and to the interests of other peoples. The League of Yugoslav Communists, in addition, understands independence to mean such an attitude towards and such relations between peoples as will make it impossible for any one nation or state impose its interests or its will on other peoples. The struggle for the political and economic independence of peoples in contemporary conditions, accordingly, does not mean withdrawal into the framework of national frontiers but, on the contrary, the association, rapprochement and, in the final analysis, the linking together of peoples into a single world community on the basis of full equality, in keeping with their own interests and with the conscious endeavour of all individuals to achieve this goal, irrespective of language or cultural background.

In fighting for the independence of our country, the League of Yugoslav Communists does not conceive independence to mean sectarian seclusion, dissociation or isolation.

The conflict which broke out in 1948 in consequence of the resistance of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to Stalin's policy was not an expression of any desire on the part of the Yugoslav communists to retreat into isolation, but the expression of resistance to a faulty, hegemonic policy, whose affirmation would inflict tremendous harm to the development of socialism. The resolutions of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties endeavoured to give the force of law to inequality in relations between socialist states, which was a negation of the independence of the peoples and of their freedom in developing socialist relations as the starting point of rapprochement and greater association of peoples on their socialist road of development.

What took place in 1948 was a gross infringement of the socialist and democratic principles which should apply to relations between two socialist states. The experience of the past years shows that the development of relations between socialist countries should serve as an example, and should provide perspectives for the creation of better, more lasting and more comprehensive relations between states. These relations must be based on the principles of independence, full equality and respect for the specific features of every individual country.

Resistance against manifestations of faulty practice in relations between socialist countries, which has already appeared more than once in various forms, reveals the progressive aspirations of the peoples of socialist countries: to build socialism in accordance with their specific conditions while taking into account the interests of socialism as a whole. To proclaim this policy as "national communism" can only be the consequence of dogmatic or greater-state egoistic conceptions, or else the result of ideological influences and intrigues on the part of the bourgeoisie.

The League of Yugoslav Communists proceeds from the view that relations between socialist countries should be purged of these negative phenomena which capitalism has introduced into the relations between the big and the small, between the strong and the weak, the developed and the backward, the white and the coloured and, in a cultural respect, between the developed and the less developed countries and peoples.

CONTEMPORARY developments show that the catastrophe of a new world war can be averted. This possibility rests on the altered balance of social and political forces in the world, and to the fact that hundreds of millions of working people all over the world have awakened to political activity — people who are consciously and actively fighting to avoid the general catastrophe which a new world war would bring about. The forces of socialism have grown tremendously, and they constitute a factor of peace which can exert a decisive influence on the course and forms of further social advance. Many peoples have won their liberty, and there have been created a number of new states which are striving for peace and which represent positive forces in present-day international relations. The realization that peaceful coexistence between states with different systems is both inevitable and necessary has also matured. There are realistic possibilities for the United Nations Organization to acquire a greater role and authority in settling international disputes and in safeguarding peace. This Organization, despite its present shortcomings which are the outcome of the influence of existing international contradictions, could become the active factor of a democratic mechanism which would be used, not only to suppress war, but also to encourage and promote comprehensive cooperation between peoples, i. e., closer unity of the whole human family.

As a result of all these factors, there has in the last several years been a growing awareness that a new world war is no longer inevitable. This conclusion does not mean, the refutation of the Marxist thesis that imperialism engenders crises and war: it means in the first place that the force and the role of the imperialist factors have weakened, especially in comparison with the growth of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces.

The fact that states are heavily armed and that the armament race is continuing represents a serious threat to world peace today. This danger is now greater than ever before, because the chief scientific and technological achievements, primarily nuclear energy, are mostly used in the production of weapons capable of mass annihilation of human life and of great material destruction.

The policy of achieving a balance of power through armaments, namely, the policy of altering the balance of power by means of the armament race, not only makes a genuine balance impossible — a balance in the sense of a positive stabilization of international relations — but, moreover, unless it is stopped will, drive mankind into a new war.

The men who today handle the greatest economic potential, the statesmen who decide on the further use of nuclear energy, are faced with a responsibility greater than anyone ever had to assume in the past. It is today more that ever the duty of people — in the interest of their own fate, and in the interest of the fate of future generations — not to allow anyone lightly to handle weapons whose use would spell the greatest catastrophe for mankind. For this reason mankind's only way out of the present predicament is to ban the use and stop the production of nuclear weapons, to agree on disarmament, and to preserve and strengthen peace.

The League of Yugoslav Communists is of the opinion that a steadfast struggle for the protection of peace and for general disarmament is necessary today more than ever before. And the joint cooperation of all parties and organizations of the workers, movement, of all progressive people, of the broadest sections of the population, and of the members of different classes and religions, is possible in this sphere. Peace in the present conditions primarily means peaceful coexistence between peoples and states with different social systems. This coexistence must not be passive, entrenched in bloc positions; it must be active, it must aim to achieve ever broader cooperation between peoples. It must, above all, provide for the creation

of the necessary conditions for the gradual solution of controversial international issues, for disarmament, for the release of the enormous sums that are being spent on armament, for the economic and cultural advance of the world, for aid to underdeveloped countries, for constructive and peaceful competition of states with different social systems in the economic, cultural, scientific and other spheres, as well as for the further development of the productive forces of society to a higher level, with the help of all the latest achievements of science and technology.

In keeping with this, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers that it is necessary to exert greater efforts to overcome the existing division of the world on blocs which retard cooperation between peoples in all spheres of social life.

The policy designed to overcome this division is based on the awareness that the differences of social and economic systems need not necessarily produce bloc formations, in spite of the fact that there are forces in the world today which encourage the division of the world. A large part of the world population and territories are not in any bloc formations. Socialist Yugoslavia considers that the independent policies of the non-aligned states make a contribution to the widest possible international cooperation, and to the consolidation of peace in the world. Although the countries which do not belong to blocs do not pursue identical policies, although there are differences in their relations with one or the other bloc of powers, they all advocate a way out of the present situation through the all round development of cooperation between all countries, irrespective of their social systems.

The social, economic and political essence and role of the existing blocs are different. The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that the Warsaw Pact and similar measures of the socialist countries are a natural defensive reaction to the earlier created Atlantic Pact, and particularly to the re-armament of Germany and to the setting up of military bloc organizations in Western Europe. Apart from this, the socialist countries have, in the past few years, made a series of steps and proposals designed to bring about relaxations of international tension, and thus also to eliminate bloc obstructions to cooperation between peoples. Efforts in this direction must, however, be made by all peoples and all political factors which stand for the interests of peace. The League of Yugoslav Communists will fight to enable socialist Yugoslavia, which is outside military blocs, to continue contributing its share towards the realization of this aim.

#### Active Coexistence

THE policy of active coexistence should be based on respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity of other countries, and on non-interference in their internal affairs. Active coexistence can only be implemented between states and peoples, and not in relations between blocs. There can be no coexistence between blocs, for that would not be coexistence at all, but merely a temporary "truce" concealing the danger of new conflicts.

The policy of active coexistence is also an expression of the need for the powerful development of the productive forces, which has brought about the actual inter-connection of the whole world and the close interdependence of the economies of different countries, and it makes war futile, as a means of settling any problem or contradiction between states, because of the inevitability of the catastrophe which the use of nuclear weapons would bring about.

This policy expresses the objective needs of the contemporary world for the broadest economic and comprehensive culture, scientific and other cooperation. In face of the alternative: war or peace, the policy of active coexistence is the only realistic and peaceful policy. It corresponds to the contemporary economic needs of the world economy as a

whole, the stabilization and further development of which cannot be even imagined without equal and broad, normal and free economic cooperation along the road of the general economic progress of the world. One of the aims of socialism must be the economic unity of the world, a unity which will overcome the capitalist-imperialist forms of the international division of labour, which will be based on essentially new and much more intensive relations between all national economies than was the case with capitalism.

Thus conceived, the policy of active coexistence, through international cooperation and the consolidation of peace, not only helps to eliminate the danger of war, but simultaneously creates conditions for the most rapid advance of socialism. The policy of active coexistence inevitably leads, in every capitalist country, to the suppression and weakening of those forces which retard advance and which, at the same time, represent the potential danger of a new world war; it broadens the basis of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism; it reduces opportunities for the conduct of a hegemonic policy; it shatters the basis upon which bureaucracy thrives, and assists the more rapid and less painful development of socialist countries. Accordingly, this policy does not perpetuate the existing social formations but, on the contrary, acts towards a more rapid change of these formations.

The interests of the consolidation of peace, the interests of socialist development, require that the socialist forces fight together with all peaceful forces for the victory of the policy of peace and active coexistence. The world today stands in need of the efforts of all peaceful forces, of all states and responsible statesmen, to promote cooperation between East and West. A significant role in this respect is played by the non-committed countries, which, by virtue of the fact that they are not aligned with any bloc, can contribute a great deal towards the overcoming of the exclusiveness of the blocs. The League of Yugoslav Communists will, in the future also, remain consistent in its view that the foreign policy of Yugoslavia should serve these very aims.

#### International Economic Cooperation and Problems of Integration

THE present technology of production and the development of the productive forces make it imperative for national economies to establish firmer ties with the world economy. The general progress of individual countries depends on free international economic, technical and scientific links and cooperation. Seclusion within national frontiers, autarchy, as well as discrimination which issues from ideological or political motives, are contrary to the needs of the economic development of the world, as well as damaging, not only to individual countries but to the world as a whole.

For these reasons, general and regional associations in the economic spheres, in so far as they are founded on objective economic needs and have come into existence through the development of international economic development on the basis of equality, may either immediately or in the future contribute to the process of integration of the world economy, and to the mutual assistance of peoples in developing their productive forces, as well as to their definite coordination. In such cases, regional international integration may be the first step on the road towards wider world economic unity.

Certain present concrete forms of regional integration, however, bear a number of negative features, which are impressed upon them by the existing sharp division of the world into blocs, as well as by the influence of the imperialism and hegemony of the strongest capitalist states. Such influences frequently turn regional organization into an instrument of the world's division, into an instrument, which helps to main-

tain the blocs and which places certain countries into a semi-dependent position. Progressive efforts for the development of general and regional economic integration must, consequently, run parallel with the struggle against these and similar negative influences on such integration.

The successful development of international economic cooperation and integration can only proceed from the free and voluntary linking up of the economies of individual countries, in keeping with their common economic interests and with the principles of equal democratic relations. This secures a quicker growth of the productive forces in the world and the introduction of certain elements of short term planning in international economic cooperation, contributes to the mitigation of the existing international contradictions, creates conditions for assistance to undeveloped countries in the interest of all concerned and the entire world economy, and creates conditions for active coexistence and for the free development of nations. The development of economic cooperation upon this basis, without discrimination, without restrictions imposed by blocs and without political conditions involving the narrow interests of individual countries, is a component part of the socialist course towards the development of the world economy.

Socialist Yugoslavia, taking into consideration the existing situation in the world and the various negative influences on existing forms of regional integration, has not joined any regional economic organisation. However, appreciating the prospective positive significance of the development of international economic cooperation, as well as the favourable aspects of the elements which the present forms of integration, in spite of their shortcomings, carry within themselves, and taking into consideration its own economic and political interests and the interest of economic growth and peace in Europe, socialist Yugoslavia is developing cooperation with different European regional organizations, on the basis of equality and from the angle of mutual benefits.

#### *Development of Underdeveloped Countries*

AFTER the Second World War, a number of new independent states came into existence. These countries began their economies at a time of highly developed capitalism, with strong tendencies towards state capitalism, at a time of the disintegration of capitalism as a world system, and of the ever greater advances of socialist society. For the purpose of building up the necessary economic basis for their young political independence, they have to accelerate their economic development. In doing so, they are compelled to implement state measures in economic life.

The economically underdeveloped countries today include the overwhelming majority of mankind. These countries have at their disposal vast natural resources and potential. The economic development of these countries forms the basis of their political independence, and is the material condition of their genuine equality in international economic and political relations, which, in turn, constitute one of the foundations of the stability and development of the world economy.

Consequently, international aid to underdeveloped countries for the purpose of their economic development is also in the interests of the world economy as a whole. International assistance can contribute to historical progress only if it is given without military or political conditions, and on the basis of democratic relations between countries. Therein lies the great progressive significance of international economic assistance through collective international actions, which are based on respect for the independence and sovereign rights of the peoples involved. Such assistance would introduce a new element in contemporary international economic relations. Apart from this, it is one of the most important economic

antidotes to imperialism, hegemony and war in the present conditions.

The socialist forces are interested in the expansion and consolidation of an international action of this nature.

Socialist Yugoslavia is making resolute efforts towards the promotion of international aid to underdeveloped countries, especially through an adequate mechanism within the framework of the United Nations. But it decisively opposes all attempts to use international economic assistance as an instrument for the achievement of political or military ends. For this reason socialist Yugoslavia, in its foreign policy, upholds the principle that international economic assistance should be granted without any conditions.

Giving priority to collective international actions, socialist Yugoslavia, however, also takes a positive stand towards bilateral programmes of economic aid, provided that these do not threaten the sovereignty of the countries receiving aid, and have no political strings attached to them.

#### *Foreign Policy Tasks of Socialist Yugoslavia*

THE foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia — based on the historical experiences of the Yugoslav peoples, their resolve to safeguard their independence and sovereignty at all costs — serves the independence and the interests of the free socialist development of the country, and contributes to comprehensive cooperation between peoples.

In fulfilling its tasks, the foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia implements the principles of consistency, frankness and independence in adopting attitudes.

The independence of Yugoslavia's foreign policy is opposed to egoism, national exclusiveness, narrow-mindedness and seclusion. Yugoslavia is a component part of the European and world community and, as a socialist country, it is also part of the socialist world, that is to say, of the socialist and progressive forces of contemporary mankind.

In accordance with the general principles of its foreign policy, socialist Yugoslavia, has exerted and will continue to exert efforts towards the development of cooperation and good-neighbour relations with all the adjacent countries, irrespective of the social and political differences between Yugoslavia and these countries or of differences in their relations with the existing blocs. This policy corresponds to the interests of the peoples in this part of the world, and is conducive to world security and peace. In all the neighbouring countries, just as in Yugoslavia, live various national minorities, and any kind of oppression of one people by another is alien to multi-national socialist Yugoslavia, which was born in the fire of the People's Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution. All peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia enjoy, and should enjoy rights and duties. The Yugoslav national minorities in the neighbouring countries, as well as other national minorities, provided a correct policy is pursued towards them, provided they are guaranteed democratic rights and enabled to create institutions through which they can secure their free national, cultural and economic development as free and equal citizens of those countries by force for the sake of settling minority questions is inter-state cooperation. The very thought of changing frontiers by force for the sake of settling minority questions is alien to the League of Yugoslav Communists. It stands for the equal democratic, cultural, and economic rights of the minorities in its own country, as well as for those of the Yugoslav minorities in other countries.

In fighting with its foreign political activities for the policy of active coexistence and for the abolition of the division of the world into blocs, our country is developing and will continue to develop every possible form of activity through the United Nations Organisation, and is fighting for

the universality of this Organisation, thus contributing to the realization of the aim which prompted its creation. Without underestimating the negative influences of the international situation on the Organisation, or its frequent unilateral aspect which is the consequence of these influences, the League of Yugoslav Communists, nonetheless, considers that the United Nations, through the persistent endeavours of peaceloving, democratic and anti-imperialist forces, can become, more than hitherto, a common instrument of the strivings of peoples for peace and for their mutual rapprochement, for cooperation and peaceful mutual assistance.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will continue to uphold this line of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and will exert every effort to contribute, by developing cooperation with the parties and organizations of the working class and with democratic, anti-imperialist and national liberation movements, to the endeavours and desires of all peoples of the world to make a new war impossible, so that a new era of peaceful creative work may be ushered in. The fate of our peoples and the future of our socialist development were never before so closely bound up with the fate of other peoples and with the successes of socialist development in other countries as it is today.

## OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

### **Yugoslavia and World Events**

— Notes from News Conferences in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs —

During the past month Jakša Petrić spokesmen of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs held four regular press conferences for Yugoslav and foreign newsmen at which he stated the views and attitudes of the Secretariat on current and topical problems of international policy.

**May 9**

**PREPARATIONS FOR EAST-WEST SUMMIT TALKS.** — "We are glad to see that regular contacts are being maintained and more concrete talks are under way which will, we hope, lead to a summit conference as soon as possible. However, we have also noted with concern at the same time, that certain elements tending to aggravate international tension which can only hamper negotiations and the efforts made in that direction have appeared of late".

**THE CONFERENCE IN ACCRA.** — "The Yugoslav public followed the work of the conference of the eight independent African countries in Accra with interest and sympathies, while considering the results accomplished highly significant. We consider that the decisions brought at this conference will contribute to the affirmation of independence and mutual cooperation between the African countries, as well as the strengthening of world peace and progressive tendencies throughout the world".

**THE TANGIERS CONFERENCE.** — "At the conference of the representatives of the leading political parties of Morocco and Tunisia and the representatives of the Front of National Liberation of Algeria the progressive tendencies of these peoples towards full independence and unity were manifested".

**May 16**

**THE EVENTS IN INDONESIA.** — "The fact that attempts are being made to profit by the internal difficulties of Indonesia as an excuse for foreign interference in the internal affairs of this country is both alarming and reprehensible as it represents an infraction of Indonesian sovereignty and a threat to its independence and peace in general. Therefore the demands of the Republic of Indonesia that such

an impermissible practice be stopped immediately are entirely justified and have met with the unqualified support and sympathies of the Yugoslav peoples and government.

**May 23**

**CHAUVINIST PHENOMENA IN BULGARIA.** — Resolutely denying the statement made by the Secretary of the District Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in Sandansko to the effect that "the Yugoslav leaders are viewing this region with a greedy eye" the Secretariat spokesman stated:

"The allegation on professed Yugoslav appetency towards this region is an extremely irresponsible outburst and cannot conceal the fact that chauvinist tendencies have been manifested in Bulgaria of late in various speeches and articles in which the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano on the creation of a great Bulgaria were praised."

**THE INCIDENT IN TRIESTE.** — The General Commissioner of the Italian Government in Trieste Palamara banned a pre-election meeting in Trieste on May 18 because the respective candidate for parliament was slated to speak in the Slovene language. In this connection the Foreign Secretariat spokesman gave the following statement:

"The attitude of the General Commissioner of the Italian Government in Trieste is surprising and contrary to the special statute of the Memorandum of Understanding which guarantees the right to use the Slovene language in the region of Trieste and is generally at variance with the good neighbourly relations between our two countries."

**May 30**

**POSTPONEMENT OF SOVIET CREDITS TO YUGOSLAVIA.**

"The Soviet credits in question totaled 285 million dollars. A relatively negligible portion was expended so far, mainly on projecting and preparatory work. This is the second time that the Soviet Government is unilaterally deferring the fulfilment of these arrangements by giving a formal proposal. The Yugoslav Government has adopted the standpoint that the Soviet Government is due to fulfil the obligations assumed by the aforementioned arrangements

and therefore cannot accept any postponement or talks on the matter, all the more so as the arguments cited in the Soviet note are absolutely one sided.

The step taken by the Soviet Government is actually a unilateral cancellation of valid economic arrangements this being obviously contrary to the generally accepted norms in international relations. This measure of the Soviet Government will give rise to certain difficulties in the implementation of the long-range economic plan.

In case the Soviet Government does not concede to the above stated Yugoslav standpoint, the Yugoslav Government will be obliged to advance claims for the indemnity of damages incurred."

**ON RESOLUTION OF EIGHTH CONGRESS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY.** — That part of the Resolution of the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party which contains slanders against the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was assessed by the spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Secretariat as:

"an extremely irresponsible and slanderous attack. There would be particular reason for concern if such an attitude towards Yugoslavia were an integral part of the general conceptions of the Chinese leaders with regards to contemporary international relations".

**THE EVENTS IN ALGERIA.** — "The developments in Algeria and the serious incidents provoked by the French troops in Tunisia have caused deep concern, as they threaten the independence of Tunisia and Morocco while at the same time impeding a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem to be reached in accordance with the justified desires of the people of Algeria; this cannot serve the interests of peace, nor the interests of France herself."

**CRISIS IN THE LEBANON.** — The postponement of the session of the Security Council vouchsafes the hope that the internal crisis in the Lebanon will not become a fresh source of international crisis and conflict. All endeavours to the contrary would only lead to further undesirable complications in this susceptible region, and hence also fresh threats to peace."

**US — SOVIET TALKS ON CONTROL.** — "We consider the approach to expert talks on measures for the control of the cessation of nuclear test explosions positive, especially if the mode of work of this group enables the promptest possible and most efficacious solution of this problem. I believe that experts from other countries can also contribute their share in this respect".

## BOOK REVIEW

### Yugoslavia — Economic Guide

Published by *Privredni Pregled*, Beograd, 1958

THE SUCCESSFUL termination of World War II and the final liberation of the country provided an opportunity for the extensive development of the creative forces of the Yugoslav peoples, and important results were attained in all fields of social and economic life in the short period of something more than ten years. Yugoslavia's consistently peaceful attitude, her wish for peaceful cooperation with all the peoples of the world and her policy of peaceful coexistence led to the fact that more is said and written about Yugoslavia than ever before, and her peaceful and constructive foreign policy demands the development of political and economic relations with all countries desiring this, regardless of their social and political organisation.

However, despite the fact that much has been written about Yugoslavia, there is still a need for a sound, practical,

concise and documented book to acquaint foreign economic circles with the development, accomplishments, strength, resources and needs of her economy. Such a book, *Economic Guide of Yugoslavia*, which provides abundant information about Yugoslavia, has recently been issued by the publishing house, *Privredni Pregled*.

This interesting book contains valuable facts about Yugoslavia for all those readers who are interested. It gives a brief account of her history social and state organisation, geographic position, population, culture and social welfare. The first part of the book is devoted to its objective: to the economy of Yugoslavia. This section first sets out briefly the conditions of Yugoslavia's economic development: her industry and mining, and other economic activities. The reader will find in this part complete data, including facts and statistics on the economic conditions of Yugoslavia: all branches of industry and mining, agriculture, forestry, transport, building, crafts, trade, banking and credit system, and public financing, economic relations with other countries, foreign trade and foreign currency system as well as participation in international economic organisations. The reader will also find a small guide describing Yugoslavia as a tourist country, — her beautiful places of interest and her cultural monuments. This guide also offers foreign tourists valuable information about Yugoslav tourism. Finally, the book contains an annex containing facts about Yugoslav diplomatic and other representatives abroad, foreign diplomatic and other representatives in Yugoslavia, Yugoslav economic organisations, including foreign trade, industrial, transport and tourist enterprises and organisations.

The *Economic Guide to Yugoslavia* is handsome in appearance and is richly illustrated. This book contains everything that is needed to learn the basic facts about Yugoslavia, with special reference to her economy.

#### OUR NEW CURRENT ACCOUNT

We inform our readers and subscribers that the Review of International Affairs has got a new Current Account at the National Bank From June 16, 1958 onwards it will read:

101-14 — "Medunarodna Politika"  
5-781

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# Jugovinil

CHEMICALS AND PLASTICS FACTORY

Split — Kaštel Šućurac

A MERE glance is sufficient to realize the difference between the pre-war and present economic chart of Yugoslavia.

Pre-war Yugoslavia, predominantly an agrarian country industry was devoid of a broadly developed industry notwithstanding the wealth of her natural resources. Even that little industry and few factories which existed at that time were not spared the devastation and ravages of World War II.

It was only after the liberation of the country, that construction began in earnest and at a spectacularly rapid rate. New projects sprang up overnight, — the face of Yugoslavia was changing!... The „Jugovinil“ plastic factory was also created at that time. The plastics industry is a relatively young branch and was previously virtually unknown in this country.

During the past thirty years, the plastics industry registered an unprecedented progress and upswing unparalleled by any other industrial branch. Plastics of all kinds are broadly applied and used almost in all fields of human activity.

Aware of the fact that due to their properties plastics are frequently superior and are successfully replacing many natural raw materials and wishing to become independent in this respect, the construction of a factory for the production and processing of chloride polyvinyl plastics was initiated. Thus the „Jugovinil“ Factory one of the major Yugoslav industrial projects was built on the lovely Kasteli coast which has excellent communications.

The „Jugovinil“ Factory which came into operation seven years ago is not only satisfying home requirements, but also

exporting its products to many foreign countries, thus testifying to the fine quality of its goods.

Polyvinyl chloride plastics whose universal uses have made them known the world over, enabled the „Jugovinil“ Factory to implement a rich production programme which consists of the following:

The assortment of the „Jugovinil“ factory is being broadened from day to day, but we will mention only some of the most important items produced:

Various types of PVC powder are produced thus enabling optimum results to be achieved for each individual purpose.

PVC powder 404 is used for solid processing.

PVC powder 606 for the production of viable goods and

PVC powder 808 for the manufacture of soles and cable coatings. The possibili-

ties for the processing of the aforementioned types of powder are unlimited.

Among the „Juvidur“ group of solid materials which are also excellent thermal and electric insulators and resistant to various chemicals, we will only mention the following:

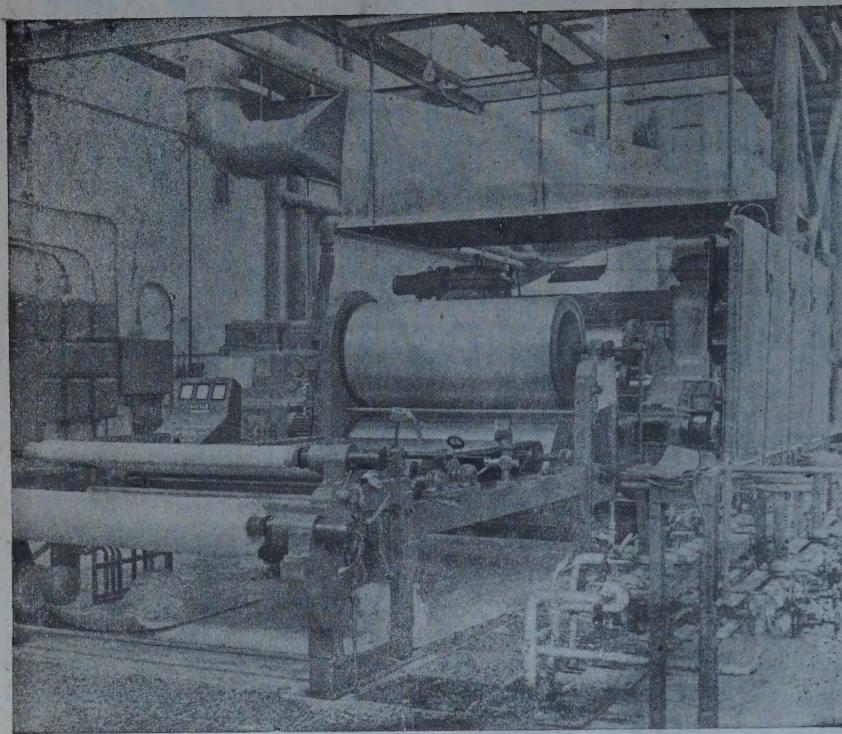
„Juvidur“ foils in various colours, transparent and opaque, green tinted, and with special protection coating resistant to corrosion.

Lining plates of various colours and thickness for many purposes.

Shapes of various colours, plain and corrugated, tubes of various dimensions. Separators for storage batteries should also be included in this category.

„Juvidurflex“ is the general name for semi-solid products, which include besides plates, shapes and tubes, also granulated PVC and foils in various colours for the insulation of power transmission lines and cables.





„Yuvifleks“ products include:-

Book covers in various colours, transparent and opaque, and printed and plain folders for different uses and purposes.

Tubes of various sizes and in various colours for use in water and in liquids corrode tubes.

Other soft products are: profiles, tapes and slabs — in a wide variety of colours and for different uses.

A particularly important place among these products is occupied by „vinyl leather“ with different kinds of cloth lining. This leather is made with smooth and rough surface, all with multi-colour designs, and it is widely used in the production of furniture, fancygoods and in garment making. Its durability is greater than that of natural leather.

Liquid chlorine, chlorate, alkaline sodium and acetyline lime are also the products of „Jugovinil“ which are very useful in industry.



used, and they are in ever greater demand on the market.

„Jugovidir“ tubes are excellent electric and heat isolators. They are resistant to various chemical influences, so that they are irreplaceable in many branches of industry. In addition, they are successfully used as drainage installations in housing.

Owing to their smooth surface and chemical resistance, no sedimentation takes place in them and the flow of liquid through them is not impeded as in other kinds of tubes. These tubes are also used in irrigation projects because they keep well even in moist soil.

„Jugovidir“ tubes are much cheaper than many other kinds of tubes and can be easily fitted.

These are only a few products of „Jugovinil“, but they show that the products of polyvinyl chloride find a very wide application indeed.

The variety of „Jugovinil“ products is being constantly expanded, and the finish of these products is being improved from day to day so that they are successfully marketed in a growing number of foreign countries.

